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IN POSTPONING consideration of the Italo-Ethiopian dispute until September 4, the League Council has confessed its impotence in face of Mussolini's avowed policy of aggression. While the compromise resolution adopted on August 3 has been defended in some quarters as essential in order to prevent Italy from bolting the League, its concessions amount to virtual capitulation on every important issue. No attempt was made to halt the dispatch of Italian troops to Africa, nor was there any specific prohibition of the use of violence during the period of attempted conciliation. Arbitration is to be continued until September 1, but it was specifically ruled that the arbitrators were not to pass on the question of the ownership of the territory around Ualual—which is the basic cause of the dispute. Upon Mussolini's insistence it was decided that Ethiopia should have no part in the three-cornered discussions of the powers as to the ultimate fate of the African kingdom. Behind the scenes it is understood that Great Britain and France will not object to giving Italy definite concessions in Ethiopia, provided the whole matter can be adjusted without completely disrupting the existing machinery for collective security. After all, it is reasoned, Ethiopia is a backward country which can readily be sacrificed to preserve the peace of Europe. Whether Mussolini will be satisfied with such concessions as the powers are prepared to give, or whether he prefers to test his arms in actual struggle, remains to be seen. But if war comes, the acrimonious controversies which are now under way between the powers over the division of the spoils serve as a warning that the conflict is unlikely to be localized in Africa. If the United States is to avoid entanglement in that war, it is high time for it to face the issue realistically and decide upon a strong and consistent peace policy.

THE RAGE of the Japanese press against *Vanity Fair* for daring to suggest that their Emperor might not be a suitable recipient of the Noble Peace Prize would be entirely ludicrous if only an appreciable number of Japanese could be counted on to see the humor in the situation. But having an emperor is a serious business, and if the ruling class of a country desires to undergo the expense and worry of perpetuating this medieval institution it is obvious that it can ill-afford to have it lampooned in foreign magazines. While the *Vanity Fair* cartoon is innocuous enough compared to hundreds which have appeared dealing with Hitler, Ramsay MacDonald, and other political leaders, it carries with it a suggestion that after all an emperor is only a human being—an idea which if it were allowed to grow would spell the end of emperors. The peculiar sensitiveness of the Japanese on this subject at the moment is due to the struggle of the military-fascist clique to strengthen their position by eliminating as heretical all liberal or modern ideas regarding the origin of the Emperor's power. Following a bitter political controversy carried on for many months, the Japanese Cabinet has issued an official statement condemning the views of Dr. Tatsukichi Minobe, a noted constitutional authority who held the power of the government to be derived from the people, and asserting that "sovereignty absolutely lies with the Emperor"—the direct descendant of the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu-Omikami. It follows, therefore, that any Japanese who could see the humor in the *Vanity Fair* cartoon is a disloyal subject and is thereby automatically disqualified for public life.

IF WE were the managing editor of a New York newspaper we should consider the following item a piece of news: It was revealed on July 31 at a hearing of the Senate Lobby Investigating Committee under chairmanship of Senator Black that Basil O'Connor, former law partner of the President of the United States, received $25,000 from the Associated Gas and Electric Company during its fight against the Wheeler-Rayburn holding-company bill. We should consider this item of unusual news value by reason of the further fact that Basil O'Connor is the brother of John O'Connor, chairman of the House committee which is also investigating lobbies, particularly in connection with the utilities bill. Yet apparently neither the *Times* nor the *Herald Tribune* considered this story of sufficient interest to warrant its publication. The *Post*, with what seems to

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us a better sense of news, not only published the story but pointed out a few implications.

> John O'Connor has been under fire in connection with his attitude toward the holding-company legislation ever since it came up. First, as chairman of the Rules Committee, he defied the White House by reporting out a rule under which there could be no record vote on the controversial "death-sentence" provision of the bill. Then, on the teller vote on the death-sentence issue, he apparently ducked the chamber. . . . Representative O'Connor himself has refused to answer questions about his stand on the death sentence. And finally, he went out of his way to see that his Rules Committee, rather than a select committee, was authorized to investigate charges of coercion by both sides in the holding-company fight.

To complete the record of John O'Connor it remains to be said that on August 1 he voted against the "death sentence."

STATE-ENDOWED MUSIC on the largest scale ever attempted is about to make its debut in the United States. A work-relief project is now under way designed to give work to the more than 18,000 musicians who are unemployed. The musicians are to be classified according to the type of work they are most proficient in—dance music, orchestral music, band music, and so on. Ensembles formed in these groups will be allocated to every section of the country. Special attention will be given to the works of American composers. The latter have been cruelly neglected unless they had friends at court in the half-dozen or so major orchestras of the land. The head of the entire undertaking will be Dr. Nikolai Sokoloff, former conductor of the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra, a musician of excellent taste, an accomplished conductor, and a critic of exceptional discernment. In addition he is a man of integrity who will not compromise his high artistic standards no matter what the cost. His appointment may well herald a musical renaissance in the United States.

THE GROUP representing the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, which was mysteriously fired on several days ago while en route to Montgomery, Alabama, to urge Governor Bibb Graves to veto the Street anti-sedition bill, has had considerable success. Three of its members got themselves arrested in Birmingham for "possessing more than a single copy of subversive literature"—a crime under the local Downs law—but they were released by the chief of police who ruled that they had not violated the law, although sixty arrests and two convictions had previously resulted from the possession of similar or less inflammatory literature. The determination of the group to test the constitutionality of the law in the highest court of the state apparently put a wholesome fear into the hearts of the local magistrates. The group's general agitation for the preservation of civil liberties in Alabama probably influenced Governor Graves in his veto of the Street bill and his sensible statement that: "We have sufficient law to curb radicals on the statute books now. To enact further law is to reflect on our confidence in our judges to enforce existing law." We hope that Governor Talmadge of Georgia will show as much sense in considering the plea made by the group that he use his influence to repeal the abominable anti-insurrection law, enacted in 1861, under which Angelo Herndon was convicted and sentenced to eighteen to twenty years on the chain gang. Herndon is at present at liberty on $15,000 bail pending a hearing on his petition for a rehearing of his appeal in the United States Supreme Court in October.

THE SUPER-PATRIOT of San Simeon, William Randolph Hearst, is paying dearly for his recent friendliness for the race theories of Drs. Rosenberg and Goebbels. According to Media Records the Hearst press this June carried 607,496 fewer lines of advertising than it did a year ago, while "in all cities where Hearst has publications all papers gained 413,450 lines." His papers in Washington, San Francisco, Seattle, and Milwaukee, to be sure, show a gain in advertising lineage over last year, but that gain was more than wiped out by the decrease on his Chicago, New York, Boston, Albany, and Pittsburgh papers. The decrease was caused in large part, no doubt, by the withdrawal of a mass of department-store lineage. Most department stores in the United States are owned or managed by Jews, who have been offended by Hearst's thinly veiled pro-Hitler stand. Comparative circulation figures are not yet available, but a drop in advertising generally reflects a drop in the number of readers. Mr. Hearst's worries are apparently sizeable ones, as his advertisements in competing papers, defending his "Americanism" campaign, indicate.

AFTER NEARLY EIGHT MONTHS of consideration the British Parliament has passed the India bill and it has been given royal assent. Though attacked vigorously by the die-hard faction of the Conservatives as an abject surrender of the white man's burden, the bill actually represents a strengthening of British control in India. This is achieved through the inclusion of the Indian princes in the governing hierarchy, and the granting of the appearance of self-government without its substance. The strength of the Nationalist Party has been a continual menace to British rule, and the representation of that party in the national legislature—hedged in by effective safeguards—should make the task of British officialdom somewhat easier. Although the population of the Indian states is considerably less than 25 per cent of that of India as a whole, the princes are to have the right to nominate 40 per cent of the members of the Council of State and one-third of the Federal Assembly, while the caste Hindus—comprising a majority of the population—are given only 86 out of 250 seats in the Assembly, and these are to be elected indirectly by the provincial legislatures. Control of three of the most important functions of government—the issue of currency, determination of foreign policy, and considerations of national defense—are "reserved" exclusively for the British. And as if these safeguards were not sufficient to throttle Indian influence in the government of the country, the Governor-General is invested with a series of "discretionary" powers, including the right to veto all acts of the legislature and the promulgation of emergency decrees without the assent of the legislative branch of the government. Taken as a whole the bill is a crushing blow to the Indian moderates who had the temerity to believe the ruling class would voluntarily relinquish its power if the people showed themselves to be "reasonable."

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THE SPECTACULAR TRIUMPH of President Cárdenas of Mexico over General Calles, long regarded as the iron man of the revolution, has been reinforced recently by a series of government victories in states where Calles's power had previously been unchallenged. In Tabasco where Calles's ally, Thomas Garrido y Canabal, together with the Standard Fruit Company, have long held undisputed sway, the old government has been forced out and a new one favorable to Cárdenas installed. While Garrido's economic hold on this remote and inaccessible state is undiminished, his bid for national power through the agency of his Red Shirts seems definitely to have been forestalled. Popular demonstrations against incumbent governors have also been staged in Tamaulipas and even in Sonora, home of Calles. Particularly significant, moreover, was the defeat of Plutarco Elias Calles, Jr. in his campaign for governor of the state of Nuevo Leon. The younger Calles had won his nomination in May by an overwheming majority and had the endorsement of the National Revolutionary Party. His defeat by Zuazua, a close friend of President Cárdenas, indicates that the popular belief that the new president will resume the revolutionary struggle has been unshaken by the reactionary make-up of the new cabinet and its semi-fascist scheme for uniting the landowning farmers in a government-controlled organization. The fact that the revolutionary spirit is still strong despite repeated betrayals from above suggests, however, that Cárdenas's day of triumph may be relatively short-lived.

IN HAMTRAMCK, a suburb of Detroit, half the butcher shops are closed as a result of a boycott by housewives who maintain that it is only the start of a "general strike against the high cost of living." Mrs. Mary Zuk, their militant spokesman, predicts that after the fight for lower meat prices has been won, they will go on to the other necessities of life. She also denies that the strike is communistic. That charge, she says, "is part of a ruse on the part of the butchers and meat packers to frighten timid people and split the ranks." The action committee has refused an offer of the butchers to sell existing stocks at reduced prices if the strikers would promise in return to pay prices "in line with wholesale meat costs," which would indicate that the action committee also knows a ruse when it sees one. Meanwhile Hamtramck is seeing plenty of action. Three women and a man were arrested in the course of an attempt by the strikers to pour kerosene on meat being unloaded at a packing plant; they were released shortly afterward when a crowd of 300 which gathered at the jail guaranteed their appearance in court; they were later convicted of disturbing the peace and put on three months probation. The Hamtramck Butchers and Grocers Association has announced that all butcher shops there will close for two weeks if the boycott continues "simply because there's no one to sell to." It is not surprising that the packers who consider the strike communistic are also convinced that the high prices which caused it are an act of God. "I suppose Providence is to blame for the drought and the government for the taxes," said Thomas W. Taliaferro, packing-company president. "There really isn't anything the packers and retailers can do about it." Knowing what we do about packers, we should like to see the books of Mr. Taliaferro and his brother packers before accepting his explanation. Apparently similar doubts are rampant in Detroit where a grand-jury investigation of meat prices is contemplated as a result of the direct methods of Mary Zuk and her fellow consumers.

WHITE-COLLAR RELIEF WORKERS in New York have organized to combat impending wage cuts. At a recent mass meeting 1,400 white-collar and professional workers elected a Provisional Committee for Project Organizations which has power to stop work on projects where wage cuts are threatened. Plans were also discussed for uniting forces with other organizations of unemployed and with the A. F. of L. in fighting against reductions which are bound to affect the employed as well as the jobless. This insistence by relief workers on maintaining their present wage scale, which is already low, as well as their demand for vacations with pay, will make work for those propagandists who stand ready at so much as a word to prove that people on relief are imposing on the public pocketbook. The truth is that thousands of trained workers in the professional fields, through projects for adult education and the vocational training of younger people, are contributing far more to the common good than they are taking out in the form of a meager living earned under a heavy cloud of uncertainty and worry for the future. They are, in other words, carrying on for a pittance socially useful functions which in a well-ordered society would earn for them generous support and recognition. The government, in the truest sense, owes them a living.

THE CASE OF CHARLES KRUMBEIN, now serving an eighteen-month sentence in the federal penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, for using a passport issued in the name of Albert E. Stewart, should interest all friends of the labor movement. Krumbein, who is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, pleaded guilty on January 28, 1935, to having used a fictitious name on his passport while traveling in the Orient in 1930. His sole reason for doing so was his fear that his record as a revolutionary labor leader might lay him open to persecution by the reactionary government in China. No one else used his passport, and he had no intention of committing an anti-social act, as the prosecution virtually admitted. The severity of the sentence imposed upon him by the court is in striking contrast to the suspended sentence given for a similar offense to Hearst's red-baiter, Robert Green, alias Thomas Walker, the notorious forger and violator of the Mann act. Equally shocking is the nature of the indictment against Krumbein. It charged him with violating the federal passport regulations seven times in China, though the nature of the offence was precisely the same in each case. Judge Henry W. Goddard of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York sent him to the penitentiary on one of the counts, and sentenced him to four years' probation on the others. The second sentence seems to have no justification save the desire of the government to hinder Krumbein's organizing activities in the labor movement, to which he has devoted himself for twenty-five years. He has served six months in the federal penitentiary, and is eligible for parole. His case is now before the Federal Parole Board, which, we hope, will release him.

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# Is This Recovery?

LEST our readers be too much diverted by the bright-colored balloons of early "recovery" now floating over the dark chasm of Wall Street, we wish to present a few figures from the August issue of *Economic Notes*, published by the Labor Research Association, an organization on the left which is so unkind as to use for its purposes statistics gathered on the right.

*Business Outlook:* Downward movement has been in progress since March. . . . Present business level is described by *Annalist* as "below the worst levels seen up to the middle of 1931."

*Construction Industry:* Moderate gains reported from extremely low previous level. Building construction as a whole is about 75 per cent of first six months of last year.

*Automobile production* is now declining and lay-offs continuing. *Business Week* comments: "Motor manufacturers, intent on making 1936 a more profitable year, are bending every effort to reduce costs on new models. Minimum design changes will bring some savings. . . . Elimination of hour restrictions on labor will be another factor."

*Department store sales* for first half of year have been higher than during the first six months of last year but due to higher prices actual volume of goods sold has been lower.

*Employment* in May, 1935, was even lower than in May of last year. Real wages this year have been lower than in 1934.

At this point a balloon floats by.

*Bank Profits:* "Current operating earnings of most big banks provide a fair margin over current dividend payments, yields are generous, and the price-earning ratio is low," says Poor's Investment Service, adding that the "long-term outlook" is excellent and "interest rates and consequently profits are certain to rise." It cites the Morgan-controlled Bankers Trust Company as especially well suited for investment.

But it only serves to intensify the ensuing darkness.

"Prices of many basic agricultural products have risen to levels where consumption, as well as production, is being seriously curtailed," says *Barron's*. It adds that butter "is being replaced by the less expensive oleomargarine." Butter consumption in first four months of this year fell at least 13 per cent below corresponding period last year.

*Bread consumption* for the first quarter of the year . . . was "between 5 and 10 per cent lower than for the same period of 1934 which was smaller than the consumption in the corresponding period of 1933." (*Food Industries*, June, 1935.)

*Milk (and cream) consumption* in New York metropolitan area in 1932 dropped 62,320,000 quarts below 1931; in 1933 it dropped 37,360,000 quarts below 1932; in 1934 the drop was an additional 59,160,000 quarts below 1933. . . . Milk Research Council admits: "Experience indicates that so long as the buying power of the population of New York remains at a low level, there will be no appreciable increase in milk consumption."

*Chain grocery-store sales:* Daily average sales in June in dollar volume were only 4 per cent higher than in June, last year. At same time retail food prices rose 11.1 per cent. So actually amount of food bought at these stores fell by over 6 per cent.

*Hogs:* Further increases in retail meat prices are foreshadowed in latest report of United State Department of Agriculture, which states that hog slaughtering in next three months will be only approximately one-half of the total slaughtering in same period last year, and the smallest in more than 30 years. They expect "a very marked seasonal rise in hog prices" but add that "the relatively low level of consumer buying power" will greatly curtail consumption.

We have not the space, and scarcely the heart, to relay the bulletin's report on the plight of the farmers. A few details indicate the general trend: Gross farm income for 1934 is estimated at about $7,200,000,000, the "average" in that year having dropped to $800. Some 39 farmers out of every 1,000 in 1934 lost their farms. Farm-mortgage foreclosures in the first quarter of 1935, according to the Washington *Post*, increased 20.3 per cent over the last quarter of 1934 and 9.9 per cent over the first quarter of 1934. These are figures representing some 794 communities and covering over a fourth of the farm population. In 1934, 10 Nebraska families who kept records of their food consumption and expenditures, under the direction of the Extension Service of Department of Agriculture, lived on food worth only $207, including what they produced from the farm and what they bought in stores. Thus they subsisted on a diet below the $312 a year for food worked out by experts of the Department of Agriculture as a "restricted diet for emergency use." And these Nebraska families were admittedly above the average in living standards. Average per capita expenditures for health, dentist, and other personal expenses of 25 typical Oklahoma families carefully studied in 1934 were reduced from $11.36 in 1933 to $8.85.

We close this sad recital with a selection from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. "Retail prices of food declined one-tenth of 1 per cent during the two weeks ended July 16. . . . Food prices are, however, 10.7 per cent higher than one year ago and 16.1 per cent higher than for July 15, 1933."

The results, in human terms, of the economic contraction sketched above are revealed in such announcements as that of the New York Board of Education that 135,000 or 18 per cent of the city's school children are the victims of "serious malnutrition," of which the "full toll" with its threat of tuberculosis and other illnesses, will not be known until later. Or in such statements as that of Dr. Robert H. Bishop, director of University Hospitals in Ohio: "Children are showing the results of periods of poor nourishment in the diseases they now have. Diseases due to worry and privation which ordinarily attack later in life are occurring in middle age." Dr. Bishop further said that there is such a long list of patients waiting to be admitted that most of the hospitals could be filled overnight by those in need of free treatment.

We wish we could conclude with a few economic notes of hope, for the benefit of the 19,250,000 persons on relief (according to Administration figures). We can think of only one. The United States, in point of natural resources, potential foodstuffs, and industrial plant capacity, is one of the richest areas in the world.

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# What the Tax Bill Isn't

THE minority of the House Ways and Means Committee asserted in its report that the Administration tax bill, just passed by the House of Representatives, was a "political gesture at social reform," not a revenue bill. It is just that. We differ from these indignant Republicans only in our belief that it is a gesture in the right direction. It does not promise any considerable increase in revenue; the $250,000,000-estimate of its sponsors is an insignificant sum in the present scale of government spending. Nor will it yield even this amount unless it is buttressed by an amendment ending the issuance of tax-exempt bonds. It does not redistribute wealth; if the total estimated amount to be extracted from big incomes, inheritances, gifts, and profits were actually distributed it would add about $2 to the wealth of each American. All the bill does, and this the President and his advisers must privately recognize, is to cast upon the minds of the people, politicians included, the shadow of coming events.

Income, inheritance, profits, and gift taxes can produce revenue. They can also, in some degree, redistribute wealth. England, whose budget-balancing ability so constantly excites the admiration of all right-wing opponents of the Administration, has an income-tax schedule which makes Mr. Roosevelt's proposals seem timidly reactionary. Senator La Follette recently stated that in 1934 the total revenue of Great Britain was $4,079,000,000 while its expenditures were $3,905,000,000. The United States collected in the same year $3,277,000,000 and its expenditures were $6,883,000,000. He concluded that "if we had the courage and the will to impose taxes similar to those that are now in force in Great Britain we would secure approximately $4,130,000,000 in addition to the revenue we are now collecting." The United States can and ultimately will have to raise by taxation amounts which at this stage would appear preposterous or terrifying to every businessman and to most politicians. But enough years of hardships inure people to the rigors of high taxation—even the rich who in time are driven to choose between the sacrifice of a substantial portion of their wealth and the ominous alternatives of inflation and ultimate economic collapse. This country is still in the free-and-easy stage of public finance. The government borrows, spends, and shoves its deficit into a convenient separate item for future payment. It is only beginning, with the half-hearted measure now in hand, to recognize that the future must be reckoned with and to hint which groups must expect to carry the ultimate load.

The weaknesses of the bill are under attack from left and right in the Senate. Any detailed consideration of its provisions in *The Nation* must wait upon its final form. But even at this writing it is safe to say that the efforts of Senators La Follette and Costigan and a few other intelligent critics on the left can hardly succeed in turning this feeble gesture into a strong bill for social taxation in the few remaining breathless weeks of the present session. Whatever its ultimate provisions the Administration's bill must remain litle more than a straw in the political wind—and a tribute to the demagogic potency of the Dictator of Louisiana.

# Cat's Eye View

"THE great writers of Spain (like most great writers) completely neglected the sweeping historical events taking place about them." Thus Somerset Maugham in his recent book about Spain, and if the generalization is no more true than generalizations about literature usually are, it has at least its core of truth. It is not the large importance but the enduring poignancy of things which causes them to be remembered and in the writings which the world has agreed to cherish there are eternally enshrined an amazing number of pleasant trivialities:

> Pretty! in amber to observe the forms
> Of hairs, or straws, or dirt, or grubs, or worms!
> The things, we know, are neither rich nor rare,
> But wonder how the devil they got there.

To see things steadily and to see them whole is a surer prescription for respectable mediocrity than it is for literary immortality, and the author of an unforgetable line is as like as not to be taking instead the cat's eye view. He may go to London to see the queen, but what he really remembers is the little mouse under the chair.

One reason why the great writer has so often seemed oblivious to "the sweeping historical events" probably is that such events are recorded and analyzed in works whose interest is not primarily literary, while the poet or novelist turns naturally to those intimate experiences which may seem below the dignity of history or philosophy, but which have more to do with determining the color and flavor of life than any sweeping historical event has. Certainly the literature of the past is not valued chiefly for the light which it throws upon either historical events or philosophical systems but rather for its record of what eluded both the historian's record and the philosopher's schematization. Chaucer's monk who swept the cat off the most comfortable chair before he sat down, has outlived the "important" social protest made by the anonymous author of "Piers Plowman," and no one could determine from internal evidence that the Reverend Mr. Collins made his famous proposal to Elizabeth Bennett during the period of the Napoleonic wars.

Indeed the very fact that an observation or a record is not intimately connected with a great event or a philosophical movement may increase its chance of immortality for the simple reason that great events lose their interest and systems their validity, while simple experiences repeat themselves indefinitely. The great historians of antiquity become merely dubious sources; even Gibbon needs correction; but when Ovid, instead of writing the history of his times, advises the gallant young man to brush the dust from the dress of his neighbor at the circus and—especially—when he adds, "if no dirt be there, then brush that none away," Ovid is writing for eternity.

The moral may not be that writers should struggle to be unimportant. It certainly is, however, that critics should be very chary indeed of dismissing works solely on the ground that they are neither ambitious nor important. Only scholars know that the seventeenth century in England was an age of epics. But everybody is familiar with at least a few of the poems written by a timidly amorous clergyman who got his inspiration from milkmaids.

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*"It Didn't Work, Adolf!"*

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# Issues and Men

## Our Inefficient Navy

THE Vanguard Press has done a daring thing in publishing Dr. F. Russell Bichowsky's astounding book "Is the Navy Ready?" It is a wholesale attack upon the service, its mentality, its training, its readiness, its efficiency, its total lack of science in handling most of its problems and duties. I don't wonder that this book seems to have attracted very little attention in the press. It is a tract that every protagonist of a large navy, every believer in the doctrine of force in international affairs, must wish to have suppressed. Dr. Bichowsky is probably damned all day long, especially as an unpatriotic traitor who plays into the hands of the Japanese, the Germans, the British, and all our other potential enemies. He certainly will be read with the greatest of interest by foreign admiralties, and will undoubtedly cheer up the Japanese imperialists not a little. But in view of the fact that the American people are entitled to the truth about the navy upon which they are spending such vast sums, and because of the obvious belief in some Congressional circles that our safety depends upon the fleet, Dr. Bichowsky has warrant enough for publishing this volume.

What makes his offense additionally grave is the fact that all the way through he has reinforced his own opinions by citations from many officers—he was himself for seven years superintendent of a division of the Naval Research Laboratory, which brought him into contact with all classes of naval ships and naval equipment. It is a fact that officers like Admiral Fiske, the late Admiral Stephen Luce, and Admiral Sims, have spent their lives trying to improve some of the conditions which Dr. Bichowsky describes—with slight results. The "system" usually breaks any protestant, or the would-be reformer becomes so discouraged that after a while he accepts the inevitable. Few have the satisfaction that came to Admiral S. M. Robinson, for example, who in 1911, when a young lieutenant, advocated that alternating electric current alone should be used on navy ships—the same current almost universally in service in the United States. Not until more than twenty years later, after he had become Rear Admiral and Engineer-in-Chief of the Navy was the alternating current adopted, because he was able to order it put into use. In the main, Dr. Bichowsky gives a picture of a navy hopelessly inefficient, chiefly because it is without specialists along certain lines, because its education is faulty from Annapolis up, because social and political influence mean a great deal in an officer's career.

At Annapolis the teaching is bad because it is largely done by officers detailed to the academy without regard for their fitness as teachers. As at West Point, it is text-book teaching, and therefore just a question of memory. The cadets are not taught to think or to reason, and the service places no weight upon original intellectual effort. As for the naval Post-Graduate School, "the first half of it consists chiefly of freshman and sophomore college courses in physics, mathematics, chemistry, and engineering." Recently twenty picked officers were sent to the University of California to get the master's degree, but only five succeeded, although they were all graduates of the Post-Graduate School! Our officers, Dr. Bichowsky contends, are jacks-of-all-trades and masters of none. Especially does he dwell upon the fact that there is no gunnery school and that, while there are plenty of staff officers, they are narrow specialists and none of them are really trained to exercise high command in the sense of dealing with the major problems of strategy. He quotes Rear Admiral Greenslade as writing:

> In the matter of war plans, campaign plans, studies of logistic support of the fleet, and problems of that nature very little has ever been done by the staffs afloat. I have known but few officers who, in my opinion, steadily looked forward toward high command, made a real attempt to find out what it all meant, and moved at definite plans to improve the status of the fleet command.

Upon this Dr. Bichowsky's comment is: "Once the full import of this statement . . . is fully understood, it becomes more devastating in its implications than most things a pacifist would say. For it implies that the whole training system is a failure and that the navy is unprepared for war." That it is not prepared all along the line, is the author's contention—not in training or in ordnance or organization or mentality or in ships which he believes are far inferior to those of Japan and Germany. He declares that the vast new treaty-strength navy, for which huge contracts are now being let, will be antiquated the day it is launched. In other words he thinks the navy as it stands is a colossal humbug and a waste of the people's money without giving the slightest protection to the country. Under the sedition bill now pending in Congress and already voted by the Senate, Dr. Bichowsky and his publishers could be sent to jail for circulating literature likely to cause disaffection among the sailors. Will they not be upset when they read that the ships they serve on are under-engined, inadequately armored, and generally behind the times?

Dr. Bichowsky is equally strong in his criticism of the naval mind, its hopeless conservatism, its drift in the direction of aristocracy, its steady efforts toward aggrandisement, and its failure to take the right attitude toward the civilian world. As I have so often done, he points out the menace of the Washington naval lobby which so few Congressmen can resist. He shows that in picking civilian employees the naval officer who selects always makes sure that the man chosen is his mental inferior. Every editor and Congressman and Senator ought to be compelled to read this book. A Congressional inquiry would be the inevitable and most desirable result. But more than that it ought to strike a deadly blow at the fetich that our naval and military men are the only ones that we should listen to on matters of national defense and national policy.

Oswald Garrison Villard

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# *The Crisis of the Middle Class*

# I. The Middle Class Under Capitalism

By LEWIS COREY

BEWILDERMENT and despair torment large groups of the middle class—those persons who are not wage-workers, big capitalists, or farmers. They had dreams, woven of the pre-1929 illusions of prosperity everlasting, of moving steadily upward in the social-economic scale. What, the middle class now asks, is the black magic that turned the dreams into a nightmare? The plight of the middle class is ominous. Racked by the depression, its economic and psychological condition alarmingly approaches that of the European middle class. Fuel is gathering for the fires of fascism.

Consider a few significant facts. In the three years 1930-32, 578,000, or one out of six, independent enterprisers in industry, trade, and the professions were destroyed as businessmen; more have since been destroyed, and the survivors are threatened by smaller markets and more savage competition. Millions of salaried employees and professional workers are unemployed; those still at work get smaller pay and are pursued by the fear of losing their jobs. The property losses of the middle class are immense. According to Robert R. Doane, the liquid wealth (cash, savings deposits, insurance, stocks, and bonds) of middle-class persons with incomes below $5,000 yearly, shrank from twenty-seven billion dollars in 1929 to four billion dollars in 1932, while their relative share of the liquid wealth of the country fell from 17 per cent to 4 per cent. Millions of middle-class persons, thrown into the depths with millions of wage-workers, are on relief: they must eat the salty bread of charity and eat their pride, too.

This plight has already attracted swarms of demagogues who play on the strings of traditional prejudices and outworn ideals. They speak as if the middle class were still composed of independent property owners and small enterprisers and as if capitalism were still "essentially" middle class. Yet neither is any longer true. For both the middle class and capitalism have been transformed by fundamental structural changes, which make the plight of the middle class an inner crisis of the utmost significance to our social future.

As an independent propertied class of small enterprisers, the middle class was identified with the earlier capitalism of small-scale industry, of economic individualism. It tried to maintain those conditions by a perpetual struggle against monopoly, from the trading companies of the sixteenth century to the modern trusts. The struggle, always unsuccessful and always renewed, made the middle class the most aggressive champion of democracy against the feudal lords and the authoritarian big bourgeoisie of merchants, financiers, and landlords. But democracy had a concrete meaning to the middle-class radicals: its only sanction, they insisted, was *the liberty and equality of men owning independent means of livelihood.* That meant the widest possible diffusion of small-property ownership, an aim underlying all the middle-class struggles. The English Puritans, especially the Levellers, were against the extremes of poverty and riches. The Jacobins leaned toward economic equalitarianism; Robespierre urged that incomes should not be much higher or lower than 3,000 francs yearly. Our own Jefferson envisaged a society "of men enjoying in ease and security the fruits of their own industry." The middle class waged war on monopoly in favor of a democracy of independent property owners, of small handicraft producers, small farmers, and small traders working for one another on measurably equal terms.

This ideal was most fully realized in the America of the 1820's and 1830's, because of the absence of feudalism, the free lands of the frontier regions, and an undeveloped industrial capitalism. At least 80 per cent of the people, excluding the slave South, were independent property owners, mainly small farmers; wage-workers were scarce and salaried employees and professional workers still scarcer. "No Americans," according to one chronicler, "intended to remain laborers in the sense of living all their lives dependent on wages."

But the middle class was identified with the capitalist relations of production for profit and the market; the rights of property include the right to amass big property and freedom of enterprise includes the freedom of big enterprisers to trample upon the smaller. Out of middle-class democracy arose forces destructive of democracy. The big bourgeoisie of merchants, financiers, and speculators became increasingly wealthy, while the factory system began to replace the handicraft shops. Hence a renewal, in the 1820's, of the democratic struggle against monopoly, against corporations and banks as the promoters of large-scale enterprise and concentration of property. The struggle waned with the onsweep of the industrial revolution, for while it destroyed handicraft producers it created new opportunities for small factory producers in the middle class. But the struggle against monopoly flared up again after the Civil War. Corporate enterprise increasingly replaced personal enterprise. Industrial capitalism and the new technology inexorably enlarged the scale of production, developing constantly more collective forms of economic activity. Competition began to destroy competition. The requirements of mounting capital limited the scope of small enterprise. Industrial concentration moved on to trustification and to monopoly rooted in basic economic conditions, not in legal privilege. Independent businessmen fought desperately against their doom. Their resistance often verged on civil war, as in the struggle against the Standard Oil Company. They resorted to statism, to government intervention in economic activity, formerly condemned by the middle class; to anti-trust legislation and state action to maintain free competition! It was the hopeless resistance of economic individualism to the natural force of collectivism. The middle class, rallying to populism, progressivism, and the "new freedom" of Woodrow Wilson, was decisively defeated.

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An aspect of the defeat was the transformation of class relations. Farmers became a minority class and wage-workers the majority; the rule of active industrialists was replaced by that of the financial oligarchy in the new set-up of monopoly capitalism. Independent enterprisers became a constantly smaller proportion of the middle class; they were numerically stationary after 1910, while the number of enterprisers in manufactures, construction, and mining decreased in eighteen years by 120,000, or one out of four, accompanied by a still larger relative shrinkage in their output.

But large-scale industry, which doomed the independent enterprisers, multiplied the numbers of dependent salaried employees; these formerly unimportant elements of the middle class now became its overwhelming majority. This transformation, everywhere characteristic of highly developed capitalism, appears most clearly in the composition of the American middle class. Including all elements formerly members of the class (whatever the change in their economic status) and setting the upper income limit at $10,000 yearly, the middle class in 1930 numbered 12,500,000, or 26 per cent of all persons gainfully occupied, compared with 28,500,000 wage-workers (excluding farm laborers working on home farms), 6,200,000 farmers, and 350,000 members of the big bourgeoisie with incomes of $10,000 and up. The middle class comprised the following groups:

Independent small enterprisers in manufactures, mining, construction, and transportation, including owners of very small corporations: 600,000.

Independent small enterprisers in trade, including all types of storekeepers: 1,500,000.

Independent small enterprisers in all other fields, including 500,000 professional workers independently employed: 1,200,000.

Professional workers, including intellectuals, lawyers, physicians, nurses, welfare workers, librarians, photographers, 1,000,000 teachers, and a duplication of independently employed professional workers indicated above: 2,500,000.

Managerial and supervisory employees in industry and trade, including minor corporation officers, managers, superintendents, foremen, overseers, and inspectors and the aforementioned professional workers and technicians: 1,500,000.

Technicians, including engineers, chemists, architects, and draftsmen: 450,000.

Clerical employees, including clerks, stenographers, typists, bookkeepers, and cashiers: 4,000,000.

Public service, including duplication of teachers, other professional workers, technicians, and clerical employees: 2,500,000.

All others, including traveling salesmen, canvassers, collectors, and all types of agents: 1,000,000.

The relative scarcity of independent enterprisers is most striking—only 3,300,000 in a middle class of 12,500,000: one out of four, compared with three out of four sixty years ago. They were a still smaller proportion, only 6.7 per cent, of all persons gainfully occupied. But that was in 1930. Many enterprisers have been ruined by the depression, 395,000 of them in the two years 1931-32. Today there are probably not more than 2,700,000 independent small enterprisers—a loss of three-quarters of a million in six years—not much over 5 per cent of the gainfully occupied, compared with 15 per cent sixty years ago.* The middle class is a small minority of the people and enterprisers are a still smaller minority of the class. Ours is decidedly not a nation of businessmen.

The minority of small enterprisers in the middle class is economically insignificant. The largest number of these enterprisers are the storekeepers, who have been favored by the multiplication of distributive services and the lag of concentration in their field. But they, too, are increasingly threatened by large-scale activity; the chain stores did over one-fifth of the total retail business in 1929, and the proportion is now much higher, for one reason because approximately 500,000 storekeepers have been wiped out by the depression. Increasingly more professional services are being organized in corporate and government enterprises, converting the majority of professionals into dependent salaried employees; in this field, too, opportunity no longer generously beckons to the man who would be independent. Most significant, not more than 10 per cent of manufactures, construction, transportation, and mining is in the hands of small producers. Independent personal enterprise survives miserably and precariously in the nooks and crannies of the economic world.

Independent enterprisers are doomed by mounting capital requirements, more savage competition, and the dominion of large-scale industry. They are doomed by the drive toward more efficient forms of economic activity. The significance of these forms is that they are increasingly collective and represent fundamental structural changes in capitalism: the replacement of personal with impersonal corporate enterprise, of economic individualism with collectivism. Identified with individualism, independent small enterprisers are thrust downward into the depths by the collectivism of the new economic set-up.

But collectivism, destroyer of the old middle class of enterprisers, is creator of the "new" middle class of salaried employees and professional workers. As the collective forms of corporate activity wiped out the owner-managers, and separated ownership from management by the multiplication of stockholders, directive functions were delegated to hired performers; this appears clearly in the 1,500,000 managerial and supervisory employees and in the millions of clerical employees who perform routine administrative tasks. Collectivism called into being other types of salaried employees. Large-scale industry needed constantly greater numbers of technicians; the number of engineers, metallurgists, and chemists increased, in the years from 1870 to 1930, eleven times as fast as did that of other gainfully occupied persons. The higher economic levels created by the mounting productive efficiency of collective industry made possible an immense increase in the number of professional workers.

This "new" middle class is essentially a class of salaried employees, as four-fifths of the professional workers are salaried dependents. Of the 12,500,000 members of the middle class in 1930, 9,200,000 were salaried employees.

* By adding the 3,500,000 farmers who in 1930 owned their farms, the total of independent enterprisers of all types becomes 6,200,000. But the farmer total is for 1930 and includes 650,000 farmers who were only part owners and many farmers who, because of heavy mortgages, were only nominal owners. Farmers were once part of the middle class, but now they are a separate problem: nearly half of them are propertyless and there is no *class* identity of interest between them and small capitalist producers, professional workers, and salaried employees.

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They now number nearly 11,000,000. Add the wage-workers and up to 42,000,000 persons, or 80 per cent of the 52,000,000 gainfully occupied (including the unemployed!), are dependent on jobs for their means of livelihood: the exact opposite of the situation in the America of a century ago. Ours is decidedly a nation of dependent hired workers.

Salaried employees are mostly wholly propertyless. Probably 1,000,000 of them are stockholders, but the dividends of the majority are merely a small addition to income. Add these stockholders to the independent enterprisers: that makes only 3,700,000 persons, or 28 per cent of the middle class, who are owners of property (excluding savings deposits, insurance, and homes). It is unscrupulous demagogy to approach all groups of the middle class with a program based on the defense of property; why should the propertyless defend property?

The propertyless condition is general among the mass of the people. There are not more than 6,250,000 persons (including propertied farmers), or only 12 per cent of the gainfully occupied, whose livelihood is wholly or mainly involved with property ownership; it was 80 per cent a century ago. Apologists speak of stock ownership "broadening" the basis of capitalist property, but they forget that the relative decrease in independent enterprisers has been greater than the increase in stockholders. Property income has grown, but it concentrates in a shrinking class of capitalist magnates: 325,000 stockholders in 1929 owned 80 per cent of the stock. Middle-class democracy, whose ideal was the liberty and equality of men owning independent means of livelihood, is gone beyond recall.

Former crises of the middle class moved within the relations of property; the class fought to defend small property against large-scale enterprise. Today there are *two* crises in the middle class. One is another crisis of property among the surviving small enterprisers; they continue to fight against the inevitable. For the lower salaried employees and professionals in the "new" middle class, however, the crisis is one of employment as it is among the wage-workers. This is something new, and none of the old middle-class ideals and forms of action meets the problem.

The depression has sharpened the crises, not created them. Hence they would not be solved by a return of the old prosperity. The pre-1929 prosperity was slowly but inexorably wiping out the small enterprisers. Most of them had incomes below $3,000 yearly; the business of half the storekeepers, according to the Census of Distribution, was not enough to yield a comfortable living. The crisis of employment in the "new" middle class made its appearance. There was a significant slowing down in the increase of salaried employees. Supply outran the demand, because of the tremendous rise in high-school and college graduates and the shrinkage in employment opportunities. In addition, scientific management was rigorously applied to "white-collar" work; it is significant that, while 2 per cent of the wage-workers in manufactures were displaced from 1919 to 1929, the displacement of clerical and other lower salaried employees was nearly 10 per cent. The average yearly income among the masses of lower salaried employees was only $1,800, and a miserable $1,400 in the case of clerical employees. Most independent professional workers earned below $2,500. These conditions, even if a return to them were possible, are not much worth fighting for.

Nor can the middle class work out a common program to meet its crises. For it is not a class, but merely an aggregation of intermediate groups split by a fundamental disunity. The interests of propertied and propertyless elements are not identical. Small enterprisers and salaried employees clash economically, for they have nothing in common except the myth of belonging to the same class. The upper layer of managerial and supervisory employees must exploit the masses of lower salaried employees, precisely as they exploit the wage-workers. Nor are the professional workers united, as most of them are dependent salaried employees, often mercilessly exploited by their independent brethren. There is, moreover, an antagonism between the upper and the lower middle class. The former comprises not more than 2,000,000 members: the larger independent enterprisers, the higher managerial and supervisory employees, and the more successful independent professional workers. This antagonism cuts across functional lines. The property ownership of the middle class is concentrated in the upper middle class, which touches the lower layers of the big bourgeoisie and is wholly reactionary. Where, in this welter of discordant economic interests, is there any basis for fundamental unity of action? If the propertyless masses of lower salaried employees and professional workers are induced to act within the limits of the middle class, they are necessarily sacrificed to the interests of the dominant propertied elements.

Underlying these antagonisms is the clash of two very different economic systems in the middle class: the old class is identified with the individualism of small-scale industry, the "new" with the collectivism of large-scale industry. That makes any real unity impossible. But there is another aspect: the clash of new and old social orders, for collectivism represents the economic forms of socialism. A simple change in the relations of ownership can transform collectivism into socialism, and release the now repressed forces of production and consumption. The transformation conforms wholly to the interests of the "new" middle class of propertyless, dependent salaried employees and professionals; created by collectivism, they are liberated by its transformation.

But the dominant capitalist interests resist the transformation of collectivism, they mobilize all forces to prevent emergence of the new social order. This involves the crisis of capitalism, whose most obvious manifestation is want in the midst of plenty. Capitalism is unable to control the tremendous productive forces created by collectivism; it is unable to make plenty available to all because plenty is unprofitable. Collectivism, capable of liberating mankind, *may* become the destroyer of mankind. The results are economic decline and decay, new and more devastating wars, reaction against democracy and civilization itself.

And the middle class? Small enterprisers are destroyed more swiftly and ruthlessly. Permanent unemployment appears among salaried employees and professional workers. Tormented by aggravation of the crisis of capitalism, of which its own class crises are an expression, the middle class moves toward action. What shall the action be: fascism or the communist struggle for socialism?

[*This is the first of three articles on the Crisis of the Middle Class. The second, The Middle Class Under Fascism, will appear next week. The third, The Middle Class Under Socialism, will appear in the issue of August 28.*]

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# First Month of Dictator Long

By ARNOLD S. FULTON

IN JULY, 1935, United States Senator Huey Pierce Long, Jr., entered into a period of political power, buttressed by laws of his own dictation, such as no other political boss ever enjoyed in American history. On July 9, 1935, the sixth special session of the Louisiana legislature since July 14, 1934, adjourned after passing the last 25 of some 150 special-session laws, put through in less than a year, that abolished municipal self-government in Louisiana and enabled Huey Long to say with complete accuracy: "I am the state." Scores of those laws were enacted in record time without being read by a legislature of which Huey Long said publicly with a cynical guffaw: "It's the best legislature money can buy."

I hereby record the first month of Long's dictatorship.

*July 8.* Senator Long in a night speech over the radio from station WDSU, New Orleans, says it is practicable for the state of Louisiana to take over the city of New Orleans, and calls President Franklin Delano Roosevelt "a liar and a faker," daring the United States government to take any action against him for his attack on the President with the challenge: "Indict me for calling him a liar and a faker and I'll prove it on him."

*July 9.* After receiving several visits from political representatives of Senator Long in "secret conferences," two members of the New Orleans city commission council, A. Miles Pratt, finance commissioner, and Joseph P. Skelly, commissioner of public property, publicly bolt the Old Regular Democratic Party (the city political organization) which elected them and in public statements announce their alliance with Senator Long "because New Orleans needs political peace."

*July 11.* District Attorney Eugene Stanley of Orleans Parish (city of New Orleans), resigns rather than hold office as a figurehead. Senator Long's special-session laws had made it impossible for him to appoint an assistant district attorney, a clerk, stenographer, or telephone switchboard girl without the approval of Attorney General Gaston L. Porterie of Louisiana. Porterie is a Long man; he was expelled from the Louisiana Bar Association nearly two years ago for unethical conduct in following Senator Long's orders in political court cases. Senator Long's answer was to have a special-session law passed making the Louisiana Bar Association impotent and creating his own state bar association.

Senator Long, through Governor Oscar Kelly Allen of Louisiana, appoints a Long follower, Charles A. Byrne, New Orleans political lawyer, district attorney of New Orleans, with a full staff of Long followers. Byrne is the lawyer Long picked to defend 513 New Orleans election commissioners indicted for stuffing ballot boxes and falsifying election returns for the Long ticket of 1932 that placed John H. Overton, junior United States Senator from Louisiana, in his present seat. Stanley prosecuted the three test cases that went to trial and won convictions in all three. Long by special-session laws pulled the teeth from the law under which Stanley prosecuted. The cases were dropped.

*July 12.* Thirteen of seventeen New Orleans ward leaders of Old Regular Democrats hold caucus after several secret conferences with Senator Long and his political ambassadors, and publicly announce they have joined forces with Long. In heated caucus by thirteen-to-four vote they demand that Mayor T. Semmes Walmsley of New Orleans resign. He refuses in fiery speech, excoriating them for party treason. The bolting thirteen hold a conference with Senator Long at the Hotel Roosevelt, New Orleans, where by sworn testimony Senator Long enjoys use of a suite without pay. Long refers to them as "you birds." They remind him that his pre-bolt agreement was to refer to them as "gentlemen." They report Mayor Walmsley refuses to resign. Senator Long suggests they send ward workers on a New Orleans house-to-house canvas for signatures to petitions that Walmsley be ousted, and promises "when you present those petitions, I'll convene the Louisiana legislature in special session and they'll oust Mayor Walmsley in five minutes." The bolters offer a compromise suggestion for city mass meetings to get Walmsley ouster-petition signatures, saying Long's plan means too much work. He agrees to mass-meeting plan.

*July 13.* Dr. Frank R. Gomila, commissioner of public safety (fire, police), New Orleans city commission council, turns and runs when reporters and photographers see him entering Hotel Roosevelt for conference with Senator Long. Later Gomila announces he has joined forces with Long "because New Orleans needs political peace." This gives Senator Long a three-to-two majority on the New Orleans city commission council, or complete control of the city administration, since earlier, through special-session laws, and the political bolting of Police Superintendent George Reyer and Fire Chief John Evans, he gained control of the city police and fire departments. Only two remaining city political leaders anti-Long, but impotent in office, are Mayor Walmsley and Fred A. Earhart, commissioner of public utilities on city commission council. New Orleans populace christens the bolters "the seller-outers."

*July 16.* Senator Long, now in complete political command of the New Orleans city administration, tells newspaper reporters in an interview at Hotel Roosevelt: "We will not now nor hereafter assume the credit or blame for trying to run the government of New Orleans. The city authorities, handicapped as they are by Mayor Walmsley, will have that burden to carry."

The thirteen bolting Old Regular ward leaders reveal that Senator Long's ambassadors who induced them to bolt "led them to believe" Senator Long would see to it that city employees, with approximately three months' salary unpaid, would be paid to date, but they hadn't been able to get from Senator Long either any back pay or indication when they would get it. One says: "All he promised was to call us 'gentlemen' and he broke that promise the first time we got together."

Bolting ward leaders drop plans to oust Mayor Walmsley.

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*July 17.* Louisiana state police (Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation) under Senator Long's absolute control, raid apartment at 831 St. Louis Street, New Orleans, home of Oscar R. Whilden, vice chairman of the state steering committee of the Louisiana Square Deal Association (anti-Long), and its leader in the First and Second Louisiana Congressional Districts (New Orleans and environs). They ransack the apartment, dumping the contents of drawers, taking and keeping a pistol found in a suitcase, searching for records of the Square Deal Association. The raid was made on warrant signed by Judge William J. O'Hara, criminal district court, New Orleans, Huey Long follower and son of Dr. Joseph O'Hara, president Louisiana State Board of Health and president Louisiana Democratic Association, Huey Long's political organization. Judge O'Hara admits he signed warrant for raid at request of Louisiana State Supervisor of Public Accounts, who is Alice Lee Grosjean, Huey Long's law-office stenographer who became his private secretary as governor and whom he made Secretary of State. But, said Judge O'Hara: "I do not remember to whom I gave the warrant."

*July 18.* PWA Administrator Harold L. Ickes in Washington publicly announces he has shut off all PWA projects in Louisiana until state legislature repeals special-sessions laws dictated by Senator Long which place every cent of PWA expenditures of federal funds under control of boards appointed by Senator Long, with penalty of fine and imprisonment for any federal representative who ignores the law. Ickes's decision bars Louisiana from receiving some $8,000,000 ear-marked for Louisiana projects.

New Orleans Sewage and Water Board bolts Old Regular organization after lengthy secret conferences with Senator Long's political ambassadors, and joins forces with Long. Creates office of personal director, salary $4,000 a year, with power to hire and fire all board employees, varying in number from 400 to 4,000 as needs develop. Elects to this office John E. Morrill, a Huey Long follower. Two more Old Regular ward leaders join Long, giving him fifteen-to-two majority in New Orleans Choctaw caucus.

*July 19.* Senator Long in Washington attacks President Roosevelt and his Administration in speech on Senate floor and by radio this night over National Broadcasting Company network. Excerpts from Senator Long's attacks: "The Administration of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt is the most high-handed and tyrannical system of government since Nero. . . . Louisiana will run her own state and her people will remain free. . . . We can get along financially without federal relief funds." [At that moment FERA funds were paying hitherto unpaid municipal employees.]

*July 20.* Senator Long by long-distance orders fires sixty-seven deputy sheriffs of the staff of Criminal Sheriff George E. Williams of Orleans Parish (city of New Orleans), many in service from fifteen to twenty-five years. Senator Long's tool for this job was Brigadier General Louis F. Guerre, Louisiana National Guard, appointed superintendent of the State Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation on Long's orders. Special-session laws require General Guerre to approve the appointment of every deputy sheriff in the state. General Guerre retains twenty-nine of Sheriff Williams's deputies who bolt to Senator Long's faction.

Sheriff Williams, his staff cut to a skeleton, announces he is unable to serve the criminal district courts of New Orleans, which courts, with crowded dockets, defer sessions because of shortage of deputy sheriffs.

*July 21.* Five anti-Long Louisiana members of Congress confer in St. Charles Hotel, New Orleans, with other anti-Long forces in the state, planning a "united-front campaign" against Senator Long.

*July 22.* Political control of New Orleans Dock Board police by Huey Long when governor, in 1928, is ancient public scandal in Louisiana. President of Dock Board is Seymour Weiss, also president Hotel Roosevelt, Long's New Orleans headquarters. Weiss is under United States grand-jury indictment with other Long leaders for income-tax evasions; due to go on trial this autumn. Dock Board police are notoriously political ward-heelers with no other requirements for office. Scandal flames anew today, when Francis D. Washington, twenty-one, of Nashville, Tennessee, student in the junior class, University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, visiting New Orleans to "get color for stories he is writing," rambles on wharves along waterfront and is shot in the back twice by Dock Board Policeman Michael Cancienne, ward-heeler in Long's New Orleans machine. Cancienne says student "attacked him" but fails to explain why both bullets hit Washington in the back.

*July 23.* A. N. Goldberg, drainage engineer, New Orleans Sewage and Water Board, close personal and political friend of Mayor Walmsley, is notified by letter from Personnel Director Morrill that he is discharged, effective July 31, "to promote greater efficiency in the board's work as well as to establish harmony." Goldberg in statement cites his record of efficiency as engineer, but he stays fired.

*July 24.* New Orleans wakes to find on every doorstep and in every mail box in city a printed circular signed "Huey P. Long, United States Senator," printed the day before and distributed, as always, by Huey Long's state jobholders in state trucks with state gasoline, during the night, proclaiming that Senator Long will do nothing to obtain overdue back pay for city employees while Mayor T. Semmes Walmsley, repeatedly called "Turkeyhead" Walmsley in the circular, remains in office.

Seeking for months to force the New Orleans Sewage and Water Board (with its 400 to 4,000 jobs, according to construction plans) to surrender to him and open its payrolls to his followers, Senator Long through his state attorney general tied up the board's funds with court litigation. The board surrendered to him. This day his former confidential secretary, George M. Wallace, now one of his state assistant attorneys general, appears in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana, asking Federal Judge Wayne G. Borah to dismiss the suit attacking the constitutionality of the board and dismiss the injunction granted in January, 1935, on Wallace's petition. Judge Borah grants the motion for dismissal, and lifts the injunction. Attorneys for both sides refuse to comment. Wallace is the young lawyer who drafted all Senator Long's special-session laws.

After Senator Long declares on the floor of the Senate that Louisiana "doesn't want federal relief" because "the world is crying for Lousiana state bonds," his chairman of the Louisiana State Highway Commission, A. P. Tugwell, forwards to the United States Bureau of Public Roads for

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approval Long's Louisiana plan for highways, bridges, and overpasses, requesting $6,103,896 of the Administration's $4,880,000,000 federal relief appropriation.

Judge W. Carruth Jones, East Baton Rouge District Court, rules unconstitutional the December, 1934, special-session law passed by the Louisiana legislature at Senator Long's dictation, authorizing Governor O. K. Allen to appoint thirteen additional parish police jurors so that Senator Long by a voting majority on that body obtained full political control over the parish and the city of Baton Rouge.

*July 25.* Huey Long's well-publicized "gin-fizz episode" takes place, in which Long gives recipe for Ramos gin fizz to various New York barkeepers, being obliged to drink several himself in the process, drink described by Long as invention of his "grandpappy, John D. Long," in 1852. Ramos gin fizz well known in New Orleans, actually invented by Henry C. Ramos, bartender in Imperial Cabinet Saloon. Julius Tyson Long, attorney, Shreveport, Louisiana, elder brother of Huey, highly indignant when told of "grandpappy's" invention of gin fizz, declares: "John D. Long, our grandfather, was a farmer, a religious man who never saw or made a Ramos gin fizz. . . . If Huey has to tell untrue yarns about his relatives, why doesn't he tell something creditable, like saying they won the battle of New Orleans or the Mexican war?"

*July 26.* United States Treasury Department at Washington announces appointment of Colonel Amos W. Woodcock as special aide to former Governor Dan Moody of Texas, special prosecutor of federal income-tax-evasion cases in Louisiana. Prominent members of the inner circle of Senator Long's political organization are now under indictment by United States grand jury for evasions of income tax totalling several hundred thousand dollars. They include Seymour Weiss, Abraham Lazard Shushan, and State Senator Jules G. Fisher. Weiss is president of the New Orleans Dock Board, and unofficial all-cash, no-records treasurer of Senator Long's political organization, who told United States Senate committee headed by the late Senator Robert Howell of Nebraska, "None of your business," when General Samuel Tilden Ansell, committee attorney, in hearing at New Orleans, February, 1933, questioned him about his financial transactions. Weiss is head of the Hotel Roosevelt Company, New Orleans, Huey Long's New Orleans headquarters, where Weiss testified under oath Long paid no rent for expensive suite; his occupancy was "good publicity." Ten years ago, Weiss, ex-shoe-store clerk, was manager of the Hotel Roosevelt barbershop. Shushan is president of the Orleans Levee Board, head of a wholesale dry-goods and notions firm, Shushan Brothers and Company, Inc., New Orleans, which enjoyed fat contracts with state institutions while Long was governor; contracts let without competitive bidding, according to sworn testimony. State Senator Jules G. Fisher, pro-Long political czar in Jefferson Parish, abutting New Orleans, enjoying wide-open gambling-house privileges, was one of fifteen senators (out of thirty-nine) who in 1928, after the lower house of the Louisiana legislature impeached the then Governor Long, signed a "Round Robin" stating that they "believed the impeachment proceedings unconstitutional, and therefore would not vote to oust Governor Long, no matter what the evidence." State Representative Joseph Fisher, nephew of State Senator Fisher, with Dan Moody prosecuting, was convicted and sentenced to eighteen months in federal penitentiary, Atlanta, Georgia, in April, 1935, first of these income-tax-evasion cases to go to trial.

*July 28.* Audit of official records of Louisiana state auditor reveals that as of June 30, 1935, the state of Louisiana has an overdraft of $225,738.12, instead of the "$4,000,000 surplus in the treasury" of which Senator Long boasted by radio in June. At that time he was negotiating politically with the New Orleans Old Regulars to join him. Dr. Joseph O'Hara, president of the Louisiana State Board of Health and of the Louisiana Democratic Association, Long's statewide political organization, told striking New Orleans garbage collectors: "If you or any other city employees with back pay due you will join Huey Long, he says you'll be paid within twenty-four hours. He says the state has $4,000,000 surplus in the treasury." Then fifteen of the seventeen Old Regular ward leaders threw the caucus to Senator Long, with heavy pressure behind them from city employees with three months' back pay overdue. They haven't been paid a cent of that back pay yet. Now that Senator Long controls the caucus, he has disclaimed responsibility for their back pay. They deserted their own organization for him and have nowhere to go.

*July 29.* State Civil Service Commission, appointed by Senator Long, starts study of lists of all city employees of New Orleans, with avowed intention of firing all who have not made political peace with Senator Long (which means promised openly to support him) and won the approval of the fifteen-to-two Long majority of ward leaders of the city caucus.

Sixteenth of the seventeen Old Regular Democratic Party (New Orleans Choctaw Club) ward leaders joined Huey Long forces, seventeenth resigns from Choctaw caucus, a successor pledged to Senator Long is elected, and now Senator Long controls the whole seventeen-man caucus, unanimously pledged to him.

*July 30.* Renewed pro-Long New Orleans police-department activity raiding all forms of gambling inside New Orleans city limits, leads to newspaper investigation of gambling situation in parishes of Jefferson and St. Bernard, both abutting city of New Orleans, both reached by city street cars. Jefferson Parish ruled by Sheriff Frank Clancy, pro-Long; St. Bernard Parish ruled by Dr. Louis A. Meraux, sheriff, pro-Long. Wide-open gambling in both parishes, literally on a twenty-four-hour-a-day basis, with day and night shifts, found by reporters. Horse-race betting, keno, roulette, crap-tables running full blast. Patrons openly reassured by gamblers: "Don't worry about raids. We're in right. Everything's O. K."

*July 31.* New Orleans city-commission-council majority of three to two which bolted to Senator Long held special session this afternoon and, with Finance Commissioner A. Miles Pratt taking the lead, introduced ordinances which will become laws within a week, and which strip Mayor T. Semmes Walmsley, anti-Long, of his last vestige of official power. All Mayor Walmsley can do now is use the title and draw the pay of mayor.

Francis Whiting Washington of Nashville, Tennessee, dies today of two bullet wounds in back inflicted by Michael Cancienne, patrolman of Senator Long's waterfront police force. Before dying, Washington said he had been sleeping on wharf, and was awakened when shots hit him.

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# Henry Morgenthau and His Friends

By PAUL W. WARD

WASHINGTON under Roosevelt is a political dude ranch. The bevy of nice people he has brought into the federal service as his chief contribution to American government are, in the main, just so many effete vacationists luxuriating in the trappings of officialdom and playing at the bruising sport of political line-riding, while a group of calloused and professional hands go about the business of actually running the hacienda in the Old Deal tradition.

For example, take the Roosevelt Administration's performance in the twin arroyos of banking and taxation. The men who gave the New Deal rancho its eclat have had only a boon-doggler's role in that show. Roosevelt has kept booted and spurred and prominently displayed on the verandah such dainty fellows as Morgenthau, Eccles, Oliphant, Magill, and the Professors Warren and Rogers, but out behind the barn he has been doing business as usual with such saddle-galled gentry as Jesse Jones, Joe Kennedy, "Little Dandy" O'Connor, Leo Crowley, Carter Glass, and a clique of Senators who have chewed the locoweed of money magic.

There seems to be general agreement in Washington that the title of "most loyal Cabinet member" belongs to "Henry the Morgue," as Roosevelt calls his Number 2 Cabinet officer. Morgenthau, who reciprocates by calling Roosevelt the "Boss," appears to have no fixed convictions on anything beyond a resolve to keep his department honest as well as efficient and to see that his White House master's every will be done. He is painfully humble when his own abilities are touched upon and goes out of his way to make it appear that he does not understand, for example, the monetary-stabilization operations his department handles, though he was a prime mover for dollar devaluation and was largely responsible for the New Deal enlistment of Dr. George F. Warren, the Cornell farm-management professor who invented Roosevelt's gold-purchase plan. At press conferences, where he unsuccessfully tries to hide his fear of newspaper men behind a juggler's smile, Morgenthau seldom hesitates to refer any technical question to his assistants and to deprecate his own grasp of the subject involved. Similarly, under questioning by Congressional committees with respect to pending legislation, the titular chieftain of New Deal finance begs off questions on policy as Presidential matters and evades inquiries as to details by suggesting that they be addressed to experts in the Treasury's employ. He has, as a result, reduced his role in public to that of a White House errand boy.

With one or two exceptions, "Henry the Morgue" has been meticulous in selecting his subordinates. He demands of them a loyalty to himself equal to that which he, in turn, shows to the President, but his chief requirement is that they be above suspicion of using their posts to their own financial gain. The fanatical emphasis he places on the primer type of honesty has forced him to limit his selections to men who are his personal friends or friends of personal friends. Furthermore, it erased by a roundabout process what chance there was of a bona fide New Deal tax program being espoused by the Treasury Department in its own right, and it also plunged Morgenthau into one of his early embarrassments.

Its blighting effect in the tax field showed itself in Morgenthau's selection of Roswell F. Magill as his taxation expert. Magill was snatched from his law professorship at Columbia University to take the Treasury post. No Tory, he nevertheless was sufficiently conservative in his views of tax questions to have served similarly as an expert under Secretary Mellon. Chiefly a lawyer, Magill has been engaged under Morgenthau principally in building traps for tax-dodgers and inventing plugs for holes in the tax laws rather than in devising the whole new system of taxes needed to supplant the present Old Deal holdover which places at least half the burden on consumption taxes. He fills a post which would have been occupied by Harold M. Groves, a Wisconsin liberal and Brandeis protegé with aggressive ideas on social taxation, had not Morgenthau, on taking office, countermanded the Groves appointment merely to make way for a man less a stranger to him.

The embarrassment to which Morgenthau subjected himself through his predilection for trusting only his friends or friends of his friends was partly the result of his own unfamiliarity with the awful mysteries of securities flotation. He was faced as soon as he donned the robes of office with a huge refunding operation and had to get help in a hurry. Accordingly, he enlisted a friend well versed in such matters—Earle Bailie, a partner in J. W. Seligman and Company. Immediately, growls began to rumble in the chests of Senators who recalled that Bailie's firm had floated in this country a series of Peruvian loans which had gone sour on investors' hands and that in the process the firm had handed young Legúia, son of Peru's President, a *pourboire* of $450,000. They also recalled that Bailie had been active in Wall Street's fight against the securities act, and they prepared to wreck vengeance therefor on the new Secretary with the result that, on the day Morgenthau's name came up for Senate confirmation, Mr. Bailie's resignation was announced.

His place has since been taken by T. Jefferson Coolidge, an ultra-Bostonian individual who by right of family rather than conquest has sat on the boards of most of the distinctive New England financial and industrial establishments such as the First National Bank of Boston, the Old Colony Trust Company, the Boston and Maine Railroad, and the Hamilton Woolen Company, to mention only a few. As Undersecretary, he is the Treasury's fiscal expert and efficiently fills Roosevelt's need for a man in that department who knows his way around Wall Street and yet is not a denizen of that thoroughfare.

Morgenthau would sleep better were he able to prune the political appointees out of the Internal Revenue Service,

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but Jim Farley got there ahead of him and is standing his ground, bowing only to Morgenthau's insistence that there be no more misuse of this tax-collecting agency as a soliciting machine for campaign contributions such as came to light at its Detroit office soon after Morgenthau became Secretary. Morgenthau also has been inclined to look with suspicion upon the banker and former Democratic Congressman from Kansas, Guy Tresilian Helvering, who is Commissioner of Internal Revenue, but that is all the good it does him, and he solaces himself by watching that young-lawyer-in-search-of-a-reputation, Robert H. Jackson, slash his way past Mellon's legal bodyguard, Frank J. Hogan, in an attempt to convict Andy of tax-dodging before a Board of Tax Appeals made up largely of Mellon appointees. Jackson is the Treasury's assistant general counsel assigned to the Internal Revenue Bureau.

Its general counsel is Herman Oliphant, who had been cast adrift when the Johns Hopkins Institute of Law was closed out for lack of funds. Before enlisting in that ill-fated scholastic venture, Oliphant had been a professor of law at the University of Chicago. He is one of Morgenthau's friend-of-a-friend appointees, having been recommended to the Secretary by a lawyer friend, Edward S. Greenbaum, when Morgenthau, before joining the Treasury, was seeking a solicitor for the Farm Credit Administration, which he headed from May, 1933, until Roosevelt promoted him to the post of Undersecretary to Woodin. Morgenthau brought Oliphant with him from the FCA to the Treasury.

There is another major figure in the Treasury Department who must be mentioned, for his presence there is both an anomaly and a partial explanation of the New Deal's dilatory course in the field of banking legislation. He is James Francis Thaddeus O'Connor who, as Comptroller of the Currency, has supervision over all the national banks. Small, plump, dandified, and perfumed, though otherwise bookkeeperish in appearance, he popularly is regarded as a McAdoo protegé, though the former Secretary of the Treasury and junior Senator from California privately disclaims him. They were law partners from 1925 to 1930. The only thing that fits O'Connor for a New Deal role is his egotism. He boasts of his non-New Dealish past, including the fact that as a member of the North Dakota legislature from 1915 to 1917 he fought what he calls the "state-socialist" constitution of the Non-Partisan League. He also boasts of his legal prowess, exhibiting in proof thereof a check for a vast sum which he says he once received as a fee. After running unsuccessfully as a fusion candidate for the North Dakota governorship in 1920 and for the United States Senate two years later, he moved to California where he was unable to gain a substantial political foothold until 1932. In that campaign year, young Jimmie Roosevelt visited California and O'Connor seized the opportunity to win his way into the Roosevelt graces. He attached himself to Jimmie and in that way rode into the New Deal, bringing with him his own press agent, Kenneth Hayes, who had been financial editor of the San Francisco *Examiner*.

O'Connor has run his office strictly in the Old Deal tradition. In fact, the actual running of it is entirely in the hands of Old Guardsmen. His chief deputy is Frank G. Awalt, who was Acting Comptroller from September, 1932, when Hoover still ruled the White House, till May, 1933, when O'Connor was named Comptroller by Roosevelt. His second deputy, Gibbs Lyons, also is an Old Dealer. The Old Guard influence, however, has not been so debilitating as might be expected, for the veterans still tremble over memories of the Hoover era and the banking crisis to which it led. In consequence, with O'Connor's support, they have insisted on enforcing the national banking laws to the letter. This has led, in turn, to a running fight between O'Connor, on one side, and, on the other, Jesse H. Jones, RFC chairman, the aforementioned Crowley, and Morgenthau, all three of whom adhere to the belief that a little laxity in bank examinations would bring about a flood of loans and, perforce, something vaguely referred to as prosperity.

O'Connor has been able to stay in the saddle chiefly through the help of Farley, tendered in appreciation of the generous manner in which the Comptroller has let the Postmaster General select receivers for defunct national banks. Farley, you may be sure, has selected Democrats who are not only deserving but appreciative; receivers' fees are big and secret. The number of receivers also is big. Approximately 1,500 national banks were in receivership or in process of reorganization under federal conservators when O'Connor made his last report. One of the receiverships went to O'Connor's brother, William, at Grand Forks, North Dakota. Through Farley's good offices, he managed to place another brother, Thomas, in the Internal Revenue Department as an examiner at Jackson, Michigan.

Michigan, which has more closed banks per square foot than any other state, naturally has been a fertile field for receivership appointments. Farley has had happy pickings there, letting Horatio J. Abbott, a former Ann Harbor postmaster and small-town financier who is Democratic national committeeman for Michigan, select the list of candidates from which Farley makes the choices that O'Connor approves. Farley had Abbott made Collector of Internal Revenue at Detroit but Abbott didn't last long in the job; his staff immediately had set about shaking down manufacturers for campaign contributions, and Morgenthau forced him to resign. Abbott continues, however, to be the accredited Democratic patronage dispenser for Michigan.

Morgenthau, who is nine years younger than Roosevelt, wanted to be his Secretary of Agriculture. He was, in fact, considered for the job and rejected as too Eastern and too Judaic. Bernard M. Baruch similarly was considered and rejected. For that matter, the only reason Woodin got the Treasury secretaryship—which Frankfurter could have had and Cordell Hull nearly got—was that he happened to fit well with the world of industry and finance without being covered with its barnacles. In addition, he was virtually the only big-business man whose enthusiasm for Roosevelt was not suspect. Roosevelt and Morgenthau, son of Wilson's Ambassador to Turkey, had been friends since 1914 when "Henry the Morgue" bought a 1,400-acre farm and went into the business of raising apples in Dutchess County, fifteen miles from the Roosevelt estate at Hyde Park.

A good administrator, Morgenthau has the Treasury Department running efficiently, if unimaginatively. He is particularly interested in his tax-collecting division, fired by a determination to enforce the tax laws to the hilt and see that no violator escapes. In that connection, he has obtained a grant from the four-billion-dollar work-relief fund to

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finance a check of income-tax returns on incomes under $25,000; these have gone unchecked in the past. The Administration's monetary manipulations fascinate him much as would the Illusion of Sawing a Woman in Half. On the other hand, the attacks of the budget balancers terrify him and drive him into demonstrations such as his nation-wide speech in 1934 to the effect that, despite all its spending and borrowing, the government was money ahead because of the gold profit. He professes satisfaction with the results of the Warren plan, though the "Boss" has ceased to make such professions, but he sulks when pressed for an explanation of the Administration's inexplicable operations in silver.

Part of his terror in the face of the budget balancers' assaults springs from fear that his refinancing operations are menaced thereby. Cautiously, he has been refunding millions in federal securities at unprecedentedly low interest rates and his record on this point, though vitiated somewhat by the helpless position of the bankers who must deal with him, is one deserving of praise. It is, in fact, his most tangible accomplishment and to keep the way clear for improvements on it, he has done two things that must be marked down against him. He has persuaded the Congress to boost the original tax rates in the Administration's social-security program so as to make its old-age-pensions plan a device which is completely self-sustaining, which makes savings compulsory, and which is therefore anti-social. Similarly, he has argued before Congressional committees for treatment of the tax instrument as a purely fiscal and budget-balancing, rather than social, device. In the first of these two arguments he is known to have had the backing of Roosevelt. It is unlikely that Morgenthau would have advanced the second without approval from the "Boss," though it ran counter to Roosevelt's own tax message.

It was Morgenthau who invited Marriner Stoddard Eccles to Washington, although Tugwell is the Administration stalwart who actually discovered Eccles, and such is the humility of the Treasury head that he does not mind being overshadowed in increasing degree by the new Lochinvar of American finance. Eccles, who came to Washington as a special assistant to Morgenthau and in the fall of 1934 was made Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, is ranked as a radical merely because he is a banker. In truth, he is a conservative who, despite vast wealth and great vested interests, has an inquiring mind and does not regard the present system as pluperfect merely because it has given him power and riches. Like a religious scientist, his intellectual inquiries, however, are limited in scope by certain basic superstitions. His radicalism is restricted to two things: a belief that the gold standard was not written on the reverse of the tablets from Sinai and a conviction that the way to smooth out the business curve is for the government to tax low and spend freely during depression periods and, during boom times, tighten the pursestrings and tax copiously. Capitalism is not menaced by his intentions.

The press pictures Eccles as a foe of his own class, but his own class has no such ideas. "He talks loose but he banks hard," a former banking associate, a Tory, recently said of him. Similarly, a group of Maryland bankers, horrified by the press's picture of the new Federal Reserve Board Governor, were completely reassured after listening to him for a few minutes at a private dinner that Howard Bruce, the Democratic national committeeman for their state, gave in Eccles's honor soon after his ascension. The banking bill which he has sponsored has brought powerful banking interests on his neck, thereby adding to the picture of Eccles as a bankers' enemy, but in reality the controversy is a sectional one in which Wall Street's moneychangers are arrayed against the bankers of the hinterland. Though the bill's central provisions have been presented as a gallant attempt to transfer the control of the nation's credit structure from New York to Washington where it belongs, its chief effect would be to free the West from the banking domination of the East.

The limitations of Eccles's liberalism are made further manifest in this connection by two notations. He is opposed to actual governmental control of the nation's credit machinery through public ownership of the Federal Reserve banks, and he has begun to hedge on his bill in the face of Senatorial opposition by attempting to minimize the importance of Senate amendments to the measure, though those amendments tighten instead of erasing banker control of the reserve system.

Eccles caught the attention of the New Dealers by his testimony before the Senate Finance Committee in February, 1933, when this pallid young Mormon from Utah—who continued to rate himself a Republican after he entered the Treasury—advocated a depression counter-offensive in the form of liberal federal spending for public works and relief. Eccles had got his ideas from those twin exponents of the Keynes school, Dr. William Trufant Foster, of Boston, the professor of English who became director of the Pollak Foundation for Economic Research, and Waddill Catchings, manufacturer, financier, and joint author with Foster of some five books on money, profits, and other phenomena of our industrial economy. Eccles brought to his study of the Foster-Catchings books the open mind of a notoriously tight-fisted man and a vast empirical knowledge of the world of business and finance. Except for two years dutifully spent as a Mormon missionary in Scotland, his life until he came to Washington had been devoted to managing and enlarging the estate his father left. At the time he received the New Deal call, he was president of two banks, two lumber companies, a hotel company, a construction concern, a securities firm, and one country club. He also was vice-president and treasurer of a sugar corporation and a director of coal, lumber, insurance, canned-milk, railroad, and power companies.

These roots, these success badges that Eccles has, are a great solace and comfort to Roosevelt, who is drawn by the comparative novelty of Eccles's ideas and derives confidence from the fact that their source is adequate proof of their essential harmlessness. For Eccles, there is some disadvantage in that, as developments in connection with his banking bill have shown. Roosevelt's feeling that any of Eccles's ideas must be essentially harmless has made it easy for him, under opposition pressure, to conclude that the most controversial phases of the bill also are essentially unimportant, and Eccles, passionately devoted to his brain child, has been deprived as a result of the unswerving White House backing he had expected for the measure. The Joneses, Kennedys, Crowleys, and other exponents of the politico-economic status quo ante have outweighed him. Not that it matters much.

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# Love and Housing

By M. M.

ONE of the questions the first Comintern convention in seven years failed to take up is that of love and housing, which has reached alarming proportions in Moscow. I know what the excuse will be: it will be maintained that the Communist International has no connection with the Soviet government, and therefore does not know what is going on in Russia and is powerless to stop it. This is all very well in the matter of propaganda. Everybody knows that if the Soviet government admits that its Right hand so much as suspects what its Left hand is doing it will get a swift and ignominious kick from all its capitalist playmates. But love and housing in Moscow is something else again—with the easy divorce laws it is something else again and again and again—and it is an issue which the Communist International must face if it does not wish to lose the backing of every revolutionist in Greenwich Village, Montparnasse, Telegraph Hill, and the Island of Bali.

Lest anyone doubt how desperate conditions are in Moscow I quote from a letter which has just reached me. It was smuggled through the Soviet mails and out of the country by the ingenious device of concealing it in an envelope, addressing it plainly, and affixing a fifteen-kopek stamp. It reads in part as follows:

> As I told you, I'm married. It happened very much à la Moscow. We saw each other every day and had lots of fun but we knew we were sure of one thing: we didn't want to live together, particularly in one room. Then J. in moving from where he'd been staying to better quarters ran into difficulties. He couldn't get into the new place which was still occupied, and they wouldn't take him back in the old. He asked if I'd give him a flop for four days, moved in, and went to bed while I went to make a duty call. I returned at 10:30. There sat my landlady having a good old-fashioned case of Russian jitters.
>
> "He can't sleep there," she said. "Suppose there might be a robbery in the house and maybe the militia would look in here and find an unregistered man. We'd all be evicted."
>
> If you've never seen a Russian blench and quake at the thought of the local constabulary, you don't know what abject and superstitious dread is. Well, I kicked J. into his clothes and we shivered out into the night air, still thin and chill although it was June. We looked high and low for a room, but none was to be had, so we finally did what we should have done at first: went to the militia ourselves and explained. A very nice desk-sergeant said it was O.K. and even wrote a note to the landlady requesting her to allow Citizeness L. to extend to Citizen J. the privileges of her bed for four days. And it worked out so well that we decided we'd register together.

For obvious reasons the name of the writer is withheld. (For equally obvious reasons I have deleted a few tell-tale phrases.) But enough has been quoted to reveal the conditions that exist in Moscow under the very noses of the Comintern and of Harold Denny, not to mention William Bullitt, President Kalenin, and the Commissariat of Light Industry. In this case love won out over housing, at least for the moment, but a Hearst reporter may easily picture how economics in the guise of housing stifles love in the land of the Bolsheviks, who promised to abolish economics, didn't they?

Take the case of a young man who fell in love with a woman not his wife. It was simple enough to divorce his spouse, but getting rid of her was another matter. She was entitled—and it was so registered—to one-half of the apartment they occupied, and she refused to yield her half to the new wife. It was a long and bitter battle which officially ended when the husband secretly exchanged his half of the apartment for the room of an obliging friend. We can only imagine what happened when the divorced wife met the obliging friend doing whatever in Russia corresponds to taking in the morning paper; it will probably remain forever a secret of the dreaded OGPU, whose sinister role in such situations is amply indicated in the letter quoted.

I could go on to tell another story of love in Moscow which would set my readers by the ears if I could only remember it. It begins with a young woman who finally succeeded in getting a large and very desirable room. It ends much later with the transfer of the room, with best wishes, to the new wife of the husband of the young woman, who had another room in mind. What happened in the intervening years is a tale of bureaucratic intrigue and documents in triplicate which I could never hope to untangle without a good sharp piataletka. Unfortunately such is the regimentation in Soviet Russia that one is forbidden to have sharp weapons unless one is a Caucasian in national costume. And since I would rather have free speech than be a Caucasion any day, the horrible details of this story also will have to remain with the dreaded OGPU whether they want them or not.

In any case I think I have made it clear that the Communist International must face the question of love in one room; whether, in other words, love can be established in one room or must be carried on simultaneously in every room in the house. Until it has solved this problem it cannot, with conscience, keep as its slogan: Workers of the World, Unite.

# Correspondence

## The Gentleman from New York

To the Editors of The Nation:

On reading Mr. Villard's review of the recent life of Roscoe Conkling, in your issue of June 26, I wondered a little that he, of all men, had not managed to bring in some reference to a little incident which has caused some of us to nurse a soft spot in our hearts for the Gentleman from New York. I mean the dramatic moment when Bruce, the Negro Senator from Mississippi, was due to take the oath. Custom required, of course, that a new Senator be escorted to the President's desk by his colleague, but the white Senator from Mississippi refused this courtesy. As Mr. Bruce started down the aisle alone, Mr. Conkling jumped from his seat and accompanied him.

What this meant to Mr. Bruce can be seen by the fact that his son, and *his* son, Harvard graduates both, bear the name of Roscoe Conkling.

*Petersham, Mass., July 2* Leslie W. Hopkinson

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# In Defense of the *Forward*

To the Editors of The Nation:

Your editorial comment on the occasion of Abraham Cahan's seventy-fifth birthday seemed to me as unfair as it was ungracious. It certainly gave no discerning estimate of a man who has stamped his character on Yiddish journalism the world over and on Jewish immigrant life in America especially.

I hope that my connection as a member of the editorial staff of the Jewish *Daily Forward* will not destroy me as a witness, but I read Mr. Cahan's paper as closely as your editorial writer, I believe. I also read the opposition with a fair degree of attention and I even manage a few English dailies, including the New York *Daily Mirror*. To say that the features of the *Forward* are of the caliber of the *Mirror* is a libel on one or the other of the papers and possibly on both, for there is no comparison. To be sure, the *Forward* publishes serial thrillers as it publishes many other features. Yet to represent these thrillers as the body of the *Forward* instead of its light relief is to demonstrate an ignorance of the paper as well as of the editorial craft.

It is difficult to present the evidence to one who does not read Yiddish, and I shall impose on your courtesy for only a very sketchy attempt. The leading lights of Jewish literature today are Sholem Ash, Abraham Reisin, Z. Shneier, and I. J. Singer. All of them are staff members of the *Forward* and their contributions form daily features of the paper. The work of some of these authors is familiar to many readers of English. Thus the novel "Three Cities" by Sholem Ash, praised so highly by *The Nation* itself, appeared first and in the original language in the *Forward*. All of this author's work is published first in the *Forward*, if that is any testimony of the paper's standards. "Yoshe Kalb," by I. J. Singer, which delighted so many gentile theater patrons, originated as a serial novel in the *Forward*. Another novel by the same author, "The Brothers Ashkenazi," has just concluded its serial publication with us, and many regard it an even greater masterpiece than "Yoshe Kalb." The short fiction that the *Forward* prints daily is incomparably the finest of its sort. What the magazine *Story* attempts in the English field the *Forward*, under Mr. Cahan, has been doing ever since its inception.

The standards set for its serious fiction are equally as high for the other reading matter of the *Forward*. Among our regular correspondents are men of recognized authority in the Jewish and Socialist world. To mention only three, there are Jacob Leschinsky, who was the first, I believe, to be jailed and deported by the Nazi regime; Karl Kautsky and R. Abramowitz, the latter a member of the Executive of the Socialist and Labor International. In addition the *Forward* publishes regular contributions from a half dozen German exiles of world renown, usually under assumed names for obvious reasons. Labor news gets complete coverage in the *Forward*, an entire page and often more being devoted to it daily.

No one runs as detailed and as essentially faithful reports of developments in Russia as does the *Forward*. *The Nation* may disagree with its point of view which is that of the Socialists, defending the principles of democracy and opposing dictatorship and tyranny under whatever label and color. But then the *Forward* deplores *The Nation's* attitude of condoning the Russian dictatorship. This is no reflection on editorial capacity, I hope, in either respect. However, the *Forward* carried complete reports of the famine in the Ukraine long before *The Nation's* correspondents found fit to mention the matter even by indirection, and this, I suppose, *is* a qualification of editorial capacity.

As for other news, one should remember that the *Forward* is a paper of national circulation and its articles and features are its main attraction rather than the news columns. Even so its news is relatively no more skimpy than that of the New York *World-Telegram*, for example. There is always a good digest of the important and significant events with a nod now and then to matters of lighter vein.

They say this of Mr. Cahan: "He is the editor of every Jewish newspaper." He does not direct them physically, of course. But many Jewish papers lift *Forward* material bodily, while its immediate competitors copy its every feature, including the serial thrillers, with flattering persistence. Perhaps one ought to abide by their judgment of Mr. Cahan's editorial qualifications rather than by that of your editorial writer.

*New York City, July 15* J. C. Rich

# Not Among Those Fired

To the Editors of The Nation:

Unfortunately I cannot claim the honor of being among those dropped from the University of Pittsburgh staff, as suggested by Rose Stein in her most revealing article, Academic Cossacks in Pittsburgh, in *The Nation* of July 24.

Academic freedom in that institution has, to be sure, been precarious for those holding convictions at odds with the Mellon dynasty. I had my troubles with the administration. The fact is, however, that I refused the usual annual renewal of my contract in order to accept an appointment in another institution.

*Amherst, Mass., July 26* Colston E. Warne

# Home News from Abroad

To the Editors of The Nation:

As a subscriber to *The Nation* I want to commend your unprejudiced and unbiased stand on the very important policies before the country today. Your article in the issue of July 17, Tacoma: Timber and Tear Gas, gives more authentic news on our local strike than the daily papers of the city.

*Tacoma, Wash., July 19* W. U. Nichol

# A Southern Textile Union

To the Editors of The Nation:

A southern branch of the Committee to Support Southern Textile Organization has recently been formed in North Carolina, with Professor E. E. Ericson of the University of North Carolina as chairman. The southern committee includes among its active members, such prominent persons as L. E. Austin of the Carolina *Times*, Dr. Carl Borgman, Dr. Arnold Williams, as well as many professional people, trade unionists, and textile workers. The composition of this committee indicates that the professional and white-collar class in the South—in the very heart of the textile areas—is rapidly allying itself with the working class.

The Committee to Support Southern Textile Organization supports rank-and-file organizers in the southern textile field and publicizes the living and working conditions under which the southern textile millhand lives. The committee has grown in one year from an active membership of three to an active membership of forty. Surely, there are hundreds of your readers in cities all over the country who feel it imperative to

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support these struggles in the South. More branches, like the recently organized southern branch of the committee, must be formed to insure the success of the fight for a rank-and-file-controlled United Textile Workers Union in the South. For information, write to 304 West Fifty-eighth Street.

*New York City, July 20* JOHN BERMAN,
*Executive Secretary*

## A Correction from Rabbi Heller

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

May I call attention to a serious error in an editorial paragraph appearing in the July 17 *Nation*, relating to the attitude of Christian and Jewish religious bodies toward war?

At the discussion in Chicago I did two things. I objected to the original resolution on the ground that it was poorly drawn, and that its statement that war is "a denial of all for which religion stands" is unfortunately not true historically of Judaism, which for many centuries, from the Bible onward, santioned certain kinds of war. In contrast with this I was among those who drew up a resolution which attempts to show that there is little distinction between aggressive and defensive warfare in our Western world, that the time has come to change our religious principle, and henceforth to ask all members of our faith, and to appeal to all other religious bodies to join with us, to refuse to bear arms.

You will concede that this is far different from the picture your editorial gives. This resolution is to be considered by the Central Conference of American Rabbis at its next convention.

*Cincinnati, July 15* JAMES G. HELLER

## The American Approach

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

In the interests of accuracy, I wish to correct an erroneous impression, which is rather widespread, that I am affiliated with the Workers' Party of the United States. Such an impression has naturally arisen from my past association with the American Workers' Party, in your columns and elsewhere. For years I have stood for "the American Approach," involv- both a use of American revolutionary traditions and an appreciation of the super-mechanized background of this country, and also logically for a realistic and sympathetic attitude toward the Soviet Union. I continue to hold those views.

*Brooklyn, N. Y., July 9* LOUIS F. BUDENZ

## Registering for Peace

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Your pacifist readers may be interested in the new program of Peace Patriots, which includes registering with the County Clerk of New York, for a fee of twenty-five cents, the names of American-born citizens who wish to express their opposition as conscientious objectors to all wars.

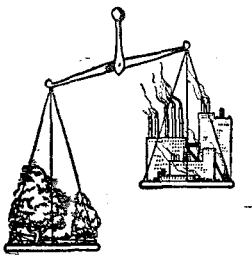
*New York City, July 10* WILLIAM FLOYD

*In an Early Issue*

**The Elks Save America**

*By A. B. Magil*


***Tax Ground Values***



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## *Coming Soon*

Britain Tightens Control in India
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Is the Endowment Policy a Good Investment?
by Murray Levine

Moscow Frowns on Abortions
by Louis Fischer



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# Labor and Industry

## Camden: Shipworkers on Strike

By LAWRENCE ROGIN

EVERY week-day morning since May 13, more than 2,000 strikers at the New York Shipbuilding Company in Camden, New Jersey, have marched four abreast in a picket line that extends for at least a quarter of a mile. The men are members of the Camden local, Number 1, of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, an independent union not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This local is one of the most promising unions that grew up in the NRA period, one that has been able to make headway in a notorious anti-union industry, closed to unionism since the war. If it wins this strike, it will have brought to terms the second largest shipyard in the country and gained a permanent foothold in the industry. This is the issue that vitalizes the strike of 4,600 men, 96 per cent of whom belong to the union. To the leaders and many of the men, keeping the union is more important than the disputes over hours and wages that are also involved. For they know that once the union is established, these things will come later.

In a seven-week strike a year ago, the union won recognition and pay increases. As a result the company also recognizes that the problem is whether or not the open shop will prevail in the industry. Union leaders feel sure that the National Council of American Shipbuilders, dominated by the anti-union Bethlehem Steel Corporation, is making a test case of the Camden strike.

For ten weeks after the start of the strike the picket line had no occasion to prove its strength. Then, on July 23, the company made an effort to start production. The 2,000 pickets usually on the line were joined by the rest of the strikers and many sympathizers, and the plant remained closed. Two days later the company gave up its effort to open the yard. A few cars were overturned and there was some booing and cat-calling, but the violence was not sufficient to justify the company's charges of intimidation. Since that time the strike has received nation-wide attention as the result of an investigation into the company's activities by a sub-committee of the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives, acting on a motion by Representative E. A. Kenney, (Democrat, New Jersey) to investigate the labor practices of shipbuilders. Kenney and other Congressmen are urging that the United States Navy Department cancel contracts amounting to $50,000,000, which are tied up by the strike, if it is proved that the company is at fault. President Roosevelt intervened, saying that it was time for the strike to be settled. The president of the company announced that it would not make an offer on the new naval building program for which bids will be opened on August 7. This move was made to counter a demand by the union that the Navy Department refuse to make contracts with the New York Shipbuilding Company so long as the strike continues.

Most of these developments are favorable to the strikers; in addition they have received unexpected aid from American Federation of Labor sources. A check for $2,500 has been sent for the relief fund by the United Mine Workers of America, and arrangements have been made to have John P. Frey, secretary of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, talk at a strike meeting.

The union was started somewhat less than two years ago in Camden; it now claims 10,000 members in eleven of the largest private shipyards on both the East and West coasts. While almost half of these are in the Camden yard, there are strong nuclei in the other two of the "Big Three" yards, the Newport News Shipbuilding Company, in Virginia, and the Fore River yard of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation at Quincy, Massachusetts. Leaders assert that the industrial union is the only potent force among the shipyard workers in the private yards. During the World War the American Federation of Labor succeeded in building strong unions in the yards, but these were destroyed in a series of strikes that lasted until 1923, and in recent years the A. F. of L. with its craft policies has made no headway.

Organization of the West Coast locals of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers came about in a peculiar manner. In 1934, there appeared in *Liberty* magazine an article by Matthew Woll attacking the Communists in the labor movement and mentioning the name of John Green, then president of the Camden union, as one of the leaders of a strike which the writer thought was called by the Marine Workers Industrial Union, a Communist-controlled union. While the names of the unions were confused, that did not seem to bother a group of workers in a San Francisco shipyard, who promptly wrote to John Green asking to affiliate with the union that had been successful in defeating the New York Shipbuilding Company. This same San Francisco group was instrumental in bringing into the union locals in three other shipyards on the Pacific Coast, one of these a former federal union in the A. F. of L.

Green, a short, slight Scotchman, tinsmith by trade, who is now president of the national organization and executive secretary of the Camden local, was the driving force behind the 1934 strike, and is still the most popular and most effective man in the union. He and Phillip Van Gelder, formerly an organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, now national executive secretary for the shipyard workers, have carried on most of the organization work outside of Camden. Both are active Socialists. Recently Charles Purkis, a pipefitter, has been taken from the yard to become national organizer.

The present strike started on May 13 when the company categorically turned down the union's demands for a 15 per cent increase in wages, elimination of the piece-work and bonus systems, and a preferential shop. The first demand also involved a decrease in the number of wage rates from 12 to 3, in order to guarantee equal pay for similar types of work. On May 9, two days before the expiration of the old agreement, C. F. Metten, president, and C. M.

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Kaltwasser, executive vice president of the company, countered with proposals which would have abolished the gains made in the strike of the year before, stipulated that the union was no longer the sole collective-bargaining agency of the men, and required that all grievances be handled individually by the men involved.

In its argument against the preferential shop, the company was fortified by the ruling of a deputy administrator of the shipbuilding code, who said that such a provision would be illegal under the NIRA. This ruling stood for only a short time before it was overthrown by the National Industrial Recovery Board, at the insistence of Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and a member of the board. The company also suggested arbitration of disputed questions by the industrial relations committee of the shipbuilding industry, which consisted of three representatives of the employers and three of American Federation of Labor unions, none of which were friendly to the independent union.

Naturally the union could not agree to any of these proposals. The negotiations committee suggested that the existing contract be renewed with a few slight modifications. This the company refused as it did the union's subsequent proposal that the existing contract be renewed and the modifications desired by the union be arbitrated by the National Labor Board or the United States Department of Labor.

Supporting its position that the company could afford the wage increase, the union pointed to the statement of Senator Gerald P. Nye that the company would make a $3,000,000 profit on the cruisers now under construction, and a profit of $10,000,000 on contracts for navy work it has recently received; to the report of former president Clinton Bardo who, on retiring nine months ago, stated that during the seven preceding years the company had made a net profit of $6,075,607.70; and to the fact that wages in the Philadelphia Navy yard, just across the river from Camden, average 25 per cent higher than those in the Camden yard. The company claims that it has lost more than $500,000 during the past year as a result of the agreement following the 1934 strike.

Faced with the alternative of striking or giving up their union 4,600 workers left their jobs and have remained out solidly to this day. Besides the mass picketing every morning, the union keeps a twenty-four-hour watch on the yard, on both the land and river gates. Mass meetings are held every morning, addressed by members of the negotiating committee and prominent labor leaders. These mass meetings are preceded by a prayer meeting led by a striker who is a lay preacher. A quartet provides music and there is mass singing of religious, popular, and labor songs.

A commissary has been set up, which turns out 1,900 meals a day at all hours of the day and night. Money and food for relief are "chiseled" from sympathetic townspeople who seem to be behind the strike. More than $600 weekly is being raised by contributions from other trade unions, the largest regular contributor being an independent union in the Radio-Victor factory. While the shipyard union is not in the good graces of the A. F. of L. unions in the shipbuilding industry, locals of twenty American Federation of Labor unions are regularly giving aid to the strike.

From the start the company has asserted that the strike was forced by a radical minority, and that the workers wanted to stay at work. Four distinct efforts were made to divide the ranks. The first was in the form of a poll taken on the backs of the last pay-checks sent out. The men were asked to vote "yes" or "no" on the proposal of going back to work on the company's terms. Countering this obvious attempt to set up a blacklist, the union, at the suggestion of its attorney, M. H. Goldstein of Philadelphia, urged all its members to vote "yes" and thus destroyed the value of the poll to the company.

Major Henry F. Holthusen of New York, a former United States assistant attorney general under Harlan Stone, who was said to have had experience settling shipyard strikes during and shortly after the war, was then called in by the company. His first move was to hire a few score college students and unemployed to conduct an "impartial" survey to find out the sentiment of the strikers. Getting wind of this, the union planted Van Gelder among the investigators and got them to come to the union hall, where they were fed and told the strikers' story before going out to investigate. Most of them gave up the job, saying that they had been misled, and the survey fizzled. "The Major," as he is known to the strikers, then tried to take a post-card poll, but with no more success.

As a final effort he convinced the county officials of the American Legion that they should take a vote. Protests by the strikers, American Legion posts, and other veterans' organizations quickly convinced the Legion officials that they had made a mistake, and they somewhat awkwardly backed down.

Full-page advertisements reprinting excerpts from alleged letters by shipyard workers have been inserted by the company in the local paper and mailed to all strikers. But none of these methods has broken down the morale of the workers. The union has replied to all the company's claims of intimidation by pointing to the size of its picket lines, and to the fact that the strike had been completely peaceful until the company tried to open the gates. Reflecting the attitude of the townspeople, the police have made little effort to interfere with the strikers' activities.

While Mayor Frederick Von Nieda has seemed friendly thus far, it was his suggestion that the strikers report for work without any agreement, and have all questions arbitrated by the National Labor Board, which led the company to open its gates. Company officials also used this suggestion as an excuse to turn down a proposal by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins that the yard re-open under the terms of the 1934 agreement and then arbitrate the differences. In their reply to Miss Perkins, President Metten wrote, "I believe that if you study the shipbuilding industry you will see the impossibility of substituting arbitration for management in the yard. It leaves the decision of all important questions to a committee presided over by a neutral person who may not understand shipbuilding." Company officials have asserted that the company must have the same authority in the shipyard as a captain does on board ship.

The Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers is fighting a winning fight against what must have seemed at first to be insurmountable odds. If it is successful, credit should go to a young, alert leadership backed up by a militant rank and file, organized so that there are no craft lines to break up the united bargaining power of the workers.

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# Labor Static

By HEYWOOD BROUN

IN the field of radio, organization has made very little progress. It seems surprising to learn that there has been almost no effort made to organize station announcers. There is just as much reason for these men and women to come together as there is among reporters or actors or teachers. Of course a great many of the broadcasters are members of Actors' Equity or of the vaudeville union or the musicians' union. But I have in mind not so much the stars of the big programs as the announcers themselves. On the whole the work is underpaid and the job is one of long hours and terrific nervous strain.

The names of a few of the best-known announcers come readily to mind. Many of these men work on the side for news reels or become an integral part of some commercial broadcast or another. When they grow famous enough they may serve as stooges for the illustrious comedians of the air and draw extra compensation from the commercial sponsors. But the run-of-the-mine announcer is a man on whom very heavy demands are made. His voice must be that of a well-educated man and his enunciation above reproach. Even in the best regulated studio things do go wrong upon occasion and in that event the announcer is responsible for seeing that a stand-by orchestra or pianist swings into action or he may have to ad lib on his own account. In short he has to be the sort of person who can talk readily of Brahms for half an hour if a sudden shower extinguishes an outdoor concert.

Not only minutes but split seconds are important in the big studios. The announcer must be able to distinguish between a ten-second sign-off and one lasting a full eleven. He is ground on the rack of the stop-watch through long hours every day. Perhaps the failure of radio men to organize may be partly attributed to the very exacting nature of their work and the hours which make it extremely difficult to find a time at which all the prospective members of a guild or union could be gathered together.

In the beginning, at any rate, leadership might effectively come from some one of the very well-known performers such as Alexander Woollcott, Ed Hill, or Hans Van Kaltenborn. I suggest to any one of this trio that they are actually under an ethical obligation to help their fellow workers to better conditions. Undoubtedly the psychology which is likely to be encountered will be much like that which prevailed in newspapers at the beginning. The radio owners will raise the issue of "the freedom of the air" and the more successful announcers will broadcast the fact that they are doing very well as rugged individualists and see nothing which they could personally gain by organization. It will also be said that an announcer must have initiative and that any kind of a guild or union would lead to a regimentation of radio which would be a fatal thing. Fortunately one argument can hardly be brought up. I doubt whether any proprietor will say that time cannot possibly be made a factor in the life of an announcer.

Of course, a radio guild should not be limited to the men who work directly for the chains or individual stations. It seems to me that eligibility should be extended to any unorganized folk who talk or play or sing into the microphone. To be sure, arrangements would have to be made to handle the situation of those already unionized, like the musicians or the actors. It has seemed to me for some time that all persons engaged in the business of furnishing public opinion with its daily bread should come together in some sort of confederation. Into such a group would fall logically newspaper men and women, clergymen, authors, screen writers, teachers, and broadcasters of every kind. Such a confederation might be a powerful influence against war. After a war is over it is easy enough to point out that some very small group in control of power used the stage, the screen, the air, the magazines, and the press for its own ends. And many of the persons who served the will of the little back-room group wrote or talked their hearts out for the holy war quite unaware of the fact that they were being used. They didn't know it was loaded.

Obviously the men and women who make public opinion (whether that is their intention or not) fall into very many camps. Any sort of confederation would have to be on the widest possible front. A belief in the dissemination of the truth should be enough for a common meeting-ground. At the very least these various groups could send representatives to an annual convention and ascertain to just what extent they were proceeding under their own steam and in what ways they were being played as pawns by invisible hands. Radio, of course, would be one of the most vital cogs in any such set-up. Increasingly the radio becomes the most powerful propaganda weapon of them all. At the moment many of the chains and stations are on their good behavior and making a pretense of impartiality. It may even be so that a radical leader (not including the Communists) can find time on the air a little more readily than he can find it in the press. To some extent Norman Thomas has become radio's pet radical and whenever any charge of discrimination is made against N. B. C. the officials are fond of pointing out the opportunities they have given to America's Socialist leader. And I am not citing this in criticism of Mr. Thomas. He would be foolish not to avail himself of the air when he can get it and he is an able broadcaster.

But I do suggest that radio is less free than it pretends to be. It is just as dependent on advertising revenue as are the newspapers. Columbia has done some good work in clearing out a number of questionable accounts. Radio has made a beginning of cleaning its own house but not without resort to the time-honored practice of sweeping the dirt under the carpet. The air fought the Tugwell bill even more ferociously than did the American press.

Naturally I am not suggesting that radio announcers should organize and immediately take over the industry. But I see no reason why a well-organized group of broadcasters could not make a considerable contribution to the raising of standards and helping to preserve radio ethics. And, of course, the first step in the raising of standards should always be in shortening hours and increasing pay.

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# Peace Comes to the Fur Market

By DAVID SCHEYER

TEN years of civil war in New York's fur market ended on June 12 when the "left-wing" Fur Workers Industrial Union signed its own death warrant and asked its members to join the New York Joint Council of the International Fur Workers Union, the American Federation of Labor affiliate.

Not even on the dark and bloody ground of Southern Illinois where Progressive and United miners slaughter each other at the pit mouths has dual unionism so blasted the standards of labor as in the fur market. Working conditions and wages for the furriers were cut to the bone as the manufacturers and contractors took full advantage of the strife. Vicious fights on the picket lines, in the shops, and on the streets were a daily occurrence. Few weeks passed when workers, slashed with the knives of their trade or trampled by the boots of rival unionists, did not fill the emergency wards and the night courts. And, ultimately, the majority of the furriers, disgusted with the inability of either union to control the industry, intimidated by the battle and uncertain of the issues, refused to give support or loyalty to either side.

Three forces have played varying roles in the furriers' unions. First in point of time was the leadership of the International Fur Workers Union, headed, until his death, by the reactionary Kaufman with the support of the right-wing Socialists. In opposition to Kaufman and his clique were the Communists and their followers in the fur market. With Aaron Gross as the brains and Ben Gold as the voice, the Communists won control of the New York Joint Council of the A. F. of L. union. From 1925 to 1927 the Furriers' Union was an arena of armed truce, characterized by the "border incidents" that usually occur in armed truces. In 1927 at a hastily organized but carefully packed conference in Washington, Kaufman expelled all the left-wing leaders of the Joint Council.

The fur workers of New York followed their chiefs into exile. For a year they fought for the reunification of the union. Then with the adoption by the Communist International of a new policy of building independent, "red," dual unions, the Fur Department of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union was created, later to become the Fur Workers Industrial Union, and still later, the International Independent Fur Workers Industrial Union. Here for the sake of simplicity it is called the Industrial Union.

The third factor rose in 1929 when the Communist Party split and the followers of Jay Lovestone were expelled. Aaron Gross and many of the leaders of the Industrial Union were among those who went with Lovestone. So the Industrial Union was rent by an internal fight between the "pros" and the "antis"—between the Lovestone group who argued for reaffiliation with the A. F. of L., and the official Communists who spoke for simon-pure revolutionary unionism. Opposition leaders were removed, members suffered fines and discrimination, protests in membership meetings were stifled by main force. In 1930 Aaron Gross was finally ousted; a year later he died from lingering injuries received at the hands of the right-wing gangsters in a 1927 strike.

Through all these lean years the International Fur Workers hung on the fringes of the industry, little more than a pale ghost, its only liquid asset an American Federation of Labor charter. With an empty treasury and an uninspired leadership it lingered on with a few hundred members. But the Industrial Union was far from controlling the market. Its strength fluctuated, and though its membership statistics were never reliable, it is certain that until a month or so ago both unions combined did not represent more than 4,000 of the 10,000 furriers in New York. Under these conditions the sweat-shops throve. The number of units in the industry rose from 600 to 3,000, representing an atomization of the fur trade into fly-by-night shops with whom no agreements were possible or enforceable. The thirty-five-hour week was stretched almost limitlessly by allowances for "overtime," wage standards stood only on paper. And through this industrial desolation ran the blood of the furriers, shed in fratricidal and suicidal inter-union warfare.

The NRA meant very little in this industry. Neither of the unions received more than a partial blessing from the labor boards and code authorities. Provisions for minimum wages and maximum hours were unenforced because the two unions were far too busy slugging each other to patrol the shops. During the last two years the Communist Opposition (Lovestone group) has formed the progressive wing of the American Federation of Labor union, fighting for militancy and unity within the union. Needless to say it has been the chief target of the vituperation of the Industrial Union—and Ben Gold is a master of invective in Yiddish and in English.

Then the Communist International turned again and with it turned all the obedient little "red" unions. The Furriers Industrial Union was the only one in this country that had more than a paper membership, hence its leaders were very reluctant to liquidate it. They made insistent overtures to the A. F. of L., proposing amalgamation of the two unions, offering a fifty-fifty break on officers, demanding the acceptance of dues books from the Industrial Union by the A. F. of L., bringing at the same time a renewed reign of terror to the market. Finally this game, with the furworkers as its pawns, ended. At its Toronto convention held in May the International Fur Workers set up a unity committee to negotiate. This committee made a flat offer to the Industrial Union: "Dissolve your union. We will accept all your members—including those originally expelled. We will have elections within forty days."

It was accepted. The Fur Workers Industrial Union vanished. This was not specifically a "United Front" agreement as it has been labeled. The Industrial Union was liquidated as an organization, and its members were told to join the International. Two thousand workers joined the A. F. of L. union in three days—most of them from the Industrial Union, but many hitherto unorganized furriers emerg-

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ing from their cyclone cellars now that the shooting was over. Exactly how many of them came from the "red" union can only be told when the elections are held. Ben Gold has an even chance of becoming the leader of the A. F. of L. union unless—

The "unless" is the blast directed against the merger by the A. F. of L. through Matthew Woll. Woll has seized the opportunity to call for a pogrom against Communists not only in the furriers union, but throughout the labor movement. Probably he will be ignored as Green's similar call was ignored last summer. Certainly Lucchi, the International president, and the leadership of the union have lived up to the unity committee's agreement with the Industrial Union. But Woll's outburst may not have been in vain. Quite possibly the official Communists themselves, whose orientation is toward work within the A. F. of L., will take the hint and lie low for the time being, refraining from seizing the union even if they can.

The other Jewish needle-trade unions in New York and particularly the International Ladies Garment Workers Union have long stood in the relation of big brother to the International Fur Workers. Before and during the Toronto convention amalgamation of the Fur Workers with the ILGWU was discussed as a logical step. Thus Woll tried to give teeth to his anti-red statement by making the leaders of the needle trades party to it. But the teeth were pulled when David Dubinsky, ILGWU president, said in a public statement (in the diplomatic language used by one vice-president of the A. F. of L. in speaking of another vice-president) in effect: "Mr. Woll is a so-and-so liar."

Meanwhile amalgamation of the two unions has ended the fur manufacturer's long holiday. The furriers are fighting again, but now they fight for better conditions in the industry, better pay and enforcement of hour agreements —Stalinites, Lovestoneites, and Socialists together. Scores of shops have been signed up since peace was made, thousands of furriers have received pay increases. Unity has been the furriers' answer to the voiding of the NRA. If unity endures, if blunders from the left and attacks from the right do not destroy it, they will gain more than the most ardent adherent of NRA ever imagined.

# Labor Notes

## Huey Long and Labor

THERE has been much talk but little documentation of Huey Long's services to labor in Louisiana. Labor throughout the country should therefore be interested in the opinion of George E. Wallace, second vice-president of the Louisiana State Federation of Labor—and in what happened to him for expressing it. In July Mr. Wallace, who has been a union man for twenty-three years, wrote an open letter to E. H. Williams, president of the federation, calling Huey Long the common enemy of organized labor in Louisiana and listing specific reasons for the charge. Under Long, wrote Wallace, "wages in the state have declined, hours have been lengthened, and the condition of the workers has grown steadily worse." He went on to point out that workers on construction jobs were paid far below the prevailing wage scale; that Long prevented passage of a state law giving labor the right to organize and bargain collectively; that his legislature defeated the eight-hour bill for women and the child-labor amendment. "During his regime," read the unmincing letter of Mr. Wallace, "not a single measure of a social character was passed." And he pointed out to his superior that the Federation "has a wonderful opportunity at the coming election in January to render a real service to the state."

Less than two weeks after his open criticism of Senator Long, Mr. Wallace was fired from his job as a barber at the Hotel Bentley in Alexandria, Louisiana, because its manager feared a boycott and other reprisals by Long's henchmen. Mr. Long, according to the Federated Press, was "enthusiastic" when he heard the news and predicted that Wallace would soon be thrown out of the barber's union and out of the state federation. He failed to state whether Wallace would still be allowed to live in Louisiana. As usual Long's answer to the charges brought against him were profane but not specific. "Labor," he said, with assorted oaths, "won't stand for a man like that." So far it is not recorded whether Mr. Williams, president of the Louisiana Federation of Labor, answered Mr. Wallace's letter, and Long claims that the A. F. of L. and the state federation have given him a "100-per-cent record." It would be an excellent time for the A. F. of L., both state and local, to make it clear that labor will not stand for a man like Long. But that may hardly be expected from the A. F. of L. bureaucracy whose political tradition, judging from its past record, might almost be described as punishing labor's friends and rewarding its enemies.

## Closed Shop

THE New York *Post* has signed a closed-shop contract with the American Newspaper Guild. Besides the closed shop, the contract establishes the check-off, a five-day, forty-hour week, one week's vacation with pay each year, with two weeks after one year's service. Minimum wages are left for further arbitration. There is also a provision for dismissal notice, and for a grievance committee. The *Post* is the first metropolitan daily to sign a contract with the Guild.

## Contributors to This Issue

JACOB BURCK is a radical cartoonist whose collection of drawings, "Hunger and Revolt," was published this year.

LEWIS COREY is author of "The Decline of American Capitalism" (1934). His new book, "The Crisis of the Middle Class," will appear early in September.

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ROBERT HAMMOND MURRAY has lived in Mexico for many years. He has contributed articles on Mexican affairs to *The Nation* and other magazines.

ERNEST SUTHERLAND BATES, former professor of English and philosophy, is the author of "This Land of Liberty," and co-author of "Mary Baker Eddy—The Truth and the Tradition."

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# Books

## Footprints in Cement

*Lucy Gayheart.* By Willa Cather. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

YEARS after the heroine of this novel has been found entrapped by a tree stump beneath the icy waters of a Middle Western river, her former admirer, now sole owner of the old Gayheart place at the end of town, gives instructions to one of his retainers: "Those marks there in the cement were made by Gayheart's daughter Lucy, when she was a little girl. I'll just ask you that nothing happens to those two slabs of walk—in my time, at least." Such a sentiment of the past, with its special commingling of the sacred and the commonplace, is actually all that Miss Cather's new work, despite its elaborate preparation of character and background, finally manages to communicate. The book has been only another and less memorable rendition of the theme that has occupied this novelist from the beginning. Like the heroines of "The Song of the Lark," "O Pioneers," and "A Lost Lady," Lucy Gayheart is one of those exquisite "sports" that were thrown up at the close of the period of pioneer expansion in the West. She is too lovely, too intelligent, too responsive to the call of what is rhetorically designated as life to be content with anything which that period had to offer. Unlike Marian Forrester, however, she is unable to compromise, and that is the pathos of her situation. For a few hours she has known dangerous release in the arms of an aging and unhappy baritone in a dimly lighted studio in the Fine Arts building in Chicago. After such a taste of abandonment, with all that it holds of music and continental passion and romantic sorrow, the daily bread of Harry Gordon's too well-disciplined affections loses all its savor for her. After such a revelation, as a matter of fact, there can be no future for either Lucy or the book. Miss Cather would be hard put to it to dispose of such a character as Clement Sebastian elsewhere than in the picturesque depths of Lake Como. And Lucy Gayheart has made a choice which leaves her only the life-in-death of continued existence in the Platte valley. For Harry Gordon and the reader there can be only the perennial, if somewhat unsatisfactory, consolation of the footprints in the cement.

The outline of Miss Cather's story as given is of course reducible to something that one has already seen many times and will see again in the Hollywood cinema. But to complain of its hackneyed simplicity is not to take account in this book of that other element of the novel form for which Miss Cather has been considered especially notable. The following is offered as a fair example of the style that is used to indicate or render subjective states on the part of the characters:

> She had never loved the city so much; the city which gave one the freedom to spend one's youth as one pleased, to have one's secret, to choose one's master and serve him in one's own way. Yesterday's rain had left a bitter, springlike smell in the air; the vehemence that beat against her in the street and hummed above her had something a little wistful in it tonight, like a plaintive hand-organ tune. All the lovely things in the shop windows, the furs and jewels, roses and orchids, seemed to belong to her as she passed them. Not to have wrapped up and sent home certainly; where would she put them? But they were hers to live among.

That this is not the best writing that has come to us from the author of "My Antonia" and "A Lost Lady" is as evident from the sentimentally relaxed rhythms as from the stereotyped imagery. What it reveals even more profoundly than the naively romantic pattern of her newest book is how completely this writer now permits the *élans* of her sensibility to conquer over her intelligence. Where a Flaubert, troubled by much the same conflict between imagination and conscience, was able at the end to attain to the high detachment of "L'Education Sentimentale," Miss Cather surrenders to the temptation of facile sentimentalism which has been her greatest temptation from the beginning. For those who had hoped that the archeological holiday of her last two novels might be followed by a return to the clearly envisaged experience of her earlier books about the West, this most recent novel can only be a source of grave discouragement. WILLIAM TROY

## Human Accents in Science

*Science and the Human Temperament.* By Erwin Schrödinger. W. W. Norton. $3.50.

IT has been claimed that art, unlike science, exercises an autonomy in its subject matter. The function of art, it is said, is to create order; the function of science is to discover it. While experience furnishes the elements of both art and science, the directive principles which guide experience in these two enterprises are said to be radically different. Experience in art is seen as a vehicle of human values and in science as clues to matters of fact.

A considerable part of Schrödinger's rather desultory book is devoted to mitigating this contrast between art and science. In an essay entitled Is Science a Fashion of the Times? he elaborates the well-known fact that the development of science has been determined to a large extent by extra-scientific factors. For example, he notes that the direction of scientific research and the general character of the hypotheses advanced bear close relations to the dominant world-outlook of the age. These relations are of profound significance for the methodology of science and they suggest a similarity between art and science more trenchant than that which Schrödinger aims to disclose. Professor Schrödinger is rather preoccupied with the arbitrariness, variability, and what he would call the subjecttivity of art, and he attempts to exhibit similar traits in science. In this attempt he is largely successful, but it seems to the present reviewer that Schrödinger misses the deeper significance of his acute analogies.

This significance lies not in the view of science as a kind of play whose form varies with the "fashions" of the times, but in the fact that science as well as art is an attempt to organize experience. And just as we find profound satisfaction when we can identify the structure and meaning of the work of art—a human creation—with a non-human natural order, so in science we derive satisfaction when scientific theories—the products of human genius—can be seen to express not only the organization of fragmentary human experience but also the structure of a non-human nature. The universe both as depicted in science and as expressed in art is man-made, but in both it is made of elements of experience which, because they are human, are also natural. Thus the order of human experience when informed by adequate insight can become also an order of nature. But because experience is never exhaustive and because the natural scene of that experience changes, no view of nature either in art or in science can be final. It is in this tentative character of science and the continual need for reconstruction of scientific theory that Schrödinger sees the dependence of science on human temperament.

What he calls "human temperament," however, turns out to be the gamut of dominant concepts of any age. These are not, as Schrödinger regards them, subjective determinants of

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science, but objective instrumentalities which the scientist employs in his theories just as he might use the technical facilities of his age in his experiments.

Less than half of the essays and lectures collected in this volume deal with the title theme. The rest are of a more technical character and center around the conflict between the deterministic and the a-causal views of the laws of nature. Implicit in Schrödinger's treatment of this subject is the valuable suggestion that the principle of indeterminacy—which is the theoretical basis of the a-causal view of nature—is an extension of the ideal of discontinuity. All measurement is discontinuous, but until Heisenberg developed the principle of indeterminacy it was believed that the only limits of refinement in measurement were the degree of tchnological refinement of our instruments. The principle of indeterminacy may be viewed as a principle of the atomicity of measurement. Not only the process of nature, but measurements—the processes whereby we come to know nature—are limited by irreducible units. The realm which lies beyond these limits is forever closed to human knowledge not because what is to be known in that realm transcends our capacities, but because in that realm there is nothing to know.

Closer students of the book should be on guard against such typographical errors as that which appears on page 57 where wrong exponents give an utterly false conception of an important equation.

WILLIAM GRUEN

# The Life of Veblen

*Thorstein Veblen and His America.* By Joseph Dorfman. The Viking Press. $3.75.

DURING his lifetime Thorstein Veblen was little known outside a small circle of friends and disciples. Until his fiftieth year he taught at the University of Chicago on a salary which never exceeded a thousand dollars. Subsequently he spent three years at Stanford, from which he was forced to resign as the result of a matrimonial scandal, and six years in the business school of the University of Missouri. He died, almost forgotton, three months before the Wall Street crash. During the six years which have elapsed since that event his books have, for the first time, begun to win popular recognition.

Thanks to Mr. Dorfman, we can now discover what kind of man Veblen was, how his ideas developed, and what was his relation to the intellectual life of his time. Mr. Dorfman has spent several years on this biography, and he tells us everything about Veblen's life which we need to know. It is not easy reading, any more than are Veblen's own books; it is packed too tightly with analyses of Veblen's ideas and with quotations from the writings of his contemporaries, and the material has not been sufficiently digested. But it is worth the effort involved, both as a portrait of one of the most eccentric characters who has ever adorned an American college campus and as a complete survey of the work of the most penetrating and realistic of American sociologists.

Veblen approached modern society with the detachment of an anthropologist studying a tribe of cannibals. His roots, as far as he had any, were in the agrarian radicalism of Minnesota, and the society which he studied was the society dominated by the trusts and the finance capitalism of the House of Morgan. During a period when almost every economist in America did obeisance to the "captains of industry" and devoted himself to proving that the laws of capitalist economics were the laws of God, Veblen was baring the criminal absurdities of the system with an insight which only Karl Marx has ever excelled. The basis of all his thinking was his distinction between industry and business. By industry he meant the actual productive apparatus, developed by the technicians and operated by the workers. These groups had little interest in or capacity for money-making; they were dominated by the instinct for workmanship, which was closely allied with those instincts making for the preservation of the race. Business, on the other hand, was a series of wasteful and more or less fraudulent devices by which the wealth created by the "underlying population" was diverted into the pockets of the capitalist class. The "absentee owners" who lived by the exploitation of industry resembled the feudal aristocracy and the other ruling classes of earlier times. Like the feudal lords, they were aggressive, "prehensile," and useless; like the feudal lords, they made use of religion and of other methods of propaganda to convince the classes who supported them that they deserved their privileged position; and, as Veblen demonstrated in the best-known of his books, the basis of most of their aesthetic and moral evaluations was their desire to show that they were exempt from the obligation to perform any useful labor. The class system of capitalism must eventually, Veblen believed, collapse as other class systems had done. As capitalization increased, as the interest charges which industry must pay grew larger and the consuming power of the workers grew smaller, as production was artificially restricted and prices raised in order that goods might be sold at a profit, the "absentee owners" would become a burden too heavy for society to carry. Even in normal times business could avoid depression only by "sabotage," by refusing to use the productive apparatus at anything like its full capacity and by colossal waste. Either the "underlying population" must take matters into their own hands and insist that industry be run for use instead of for profit, or the human race would be carried back, through militarism and feudalism, into the dark ages.

Veblen differed from Marx chiefly in the terms in which he formulated his hope of salvation. Marx looked mainly to the self-interest of the working classes, who would be organized by large-scale industry and who would be forced to become aware of their position by their increasing misery during the period of capitalist decline. Veblen had little confidence that the working class would ever acquire sufficient intelligence; all history, he felt, proved how easily the "underlying population" could be deceived by the ruling class. The main trouble, in his opinion, was that human ideas lagged so far behind economic realities; men lived in an age of technology, but they still thought in terms of medieval animism. A sane economic order would be achieved, if at all, when the human mind had become adapted to its new environment. The class which might most reasonably be expected to become contemporary in their thinking were the engineers, who were also the one class which, in modern society, was indispensable; and it was to them that Veblen looked for salvation. After the war he drafted a "memorandum for a Practicable Soviet of Technicians," in which he suggested that this class through a unanimous strike, could revolutionize society.

Confidence in the technicians is the distinctive characteristic of Veblenism as a separate school of thought. It is to be found, for example, in the technocrats, in Stuart Chase, and in George Soule, all of whom, with varying competency, are diluted Veblen; it is to be found in some of the economists attached to the New Deal. Undoubtedly a technicians' revolution would be considerably more painless and less destructive than a proletarian revolution; but, although one cannot before the event prove it to be wholly impossible, one can at least affirm that it is very improbable. Veblen himself was an excessively detached and unemotional person, and the chief deficiency in his social analysis was that he emphasized so exclusively the stupidity of the capitalist system. A technicians' revolution would be a revolution motivated not by the

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material necessities of those who organized it but by their instinct for workmanship, their dislike for waste and sabotage. Unfortunately, as Veblen himself realized in his more pessimistic moments, one cannot trust human beings to be intelligent; one cannot expect the "absentee owners" to agree without a struggle that they are an anachronism, nor will a mere demonstration that capitalism is absurd be enough to overthrow it. The driving force which is needed to effect revolutionary changes must be supplied by more elemental and forceful emotions, such as are to be found not among the salaried middle class but among the workers.

Veblen without Marx is apt, therefore, to result in a rather futile liberalism. Read in conjunction with Marx, however, he remains a singularly wise and far-seeing thinker. For American readers, in fact, who are more familiar with American finance capitalism and with American modes of thought than they are with the earlier European capitalism and with the European philosophies with which Marx was concerned, Veblen's books are probably the most congenial introduction to the revolutionary attitude.

H. B. PARKES

# Religion in Mexico

*Chaos in Mexico.* By Charles S. Macfarland. Harper and Brothers. $2.

WHEN Dr. Macfarland was collecting factual material in Mexico for his book, he succeeded, after considerable difficulty, in inducing "four factory or other manual workers" to tell him what the workers—the majority of Mexicans—thought about the church and the revolution's opposition to it. "From one after the other of them, he records, "I received the same reactions, although in some instances their emphases were different."

> Workers have no confidence in a state whose officials build palaces for their mistresses while the government itself proclaims the principles of communism. . . . Multitudes of workers see all this, but at the present time they do not dare resist, because the government . . . is in absolute control. Such workers sympathize with the church, often perhaps solely because they find the church in the same fix with themselves. . . . One of them said with a good deal of earnestness: "The church did give us some freedom. The church did teach us some high principles of morality. *The church . . . was interested in us as human beings.*"
>
> When I put the direct questions to each of these men, Do you want the church put out of existence? Do you want Mexico to be an irreligious or an unreligious nation? Do you want religion entirely ruled out of teaching and education? the answers in each case were a ringing "No!"

These workmen unquestionably voiced the majority sentiment of their class, whether industrial toilers, craftsmen, or peasants. Their testimony disposes completely of the contention of government leaders that the revolution's anti-church and anti-religious crusade is demanded, hailed, and supported by the masses as a necessary means to their social and economic progress. It also indicates, in part at least, why the masses have declined to divorce themselves from the bosom of a church "which was interested in us as human beings" and to take refuge spiritually in the cold, impersonal, rationalistic, godless breast offered them by a political regime and philosophy by which, as one of the workers told Dr. Macfarland, they "have simply been enslaved." Mexican workers, like all others, respond to institutions that are more or less interested in them "as human beings," not solely as pawns upon a political chessboard.

Dr. Macfarland recently came away from Mexico with ample material of substantial and fundamental quality. This he compressed into a modest-sized book, in which there is scarcely a superfluous sentence. It is an invaluable and indispensable source document for those who require guidance amid the passionately asserted and interminable complications that beset one's path in a serious effort to arrive at a reasonably solid, correct, and practical basis for personal and independent judgment of the church question in Mexico. No one could strive to hold the scales more evenly than the author. Manifestly his Protestantism was not permitted to warp or bias his work or his writing. His industry as a fact-seeker is established by the extent of his stay and travels in Mexico and by the multitude of persons whom he interrogated.

But his judicial and temperate attitude does not prevent him from making the unequivocal statement in his conclusions that "the state is suppressing religious liberty" and that for Mexican officials to "reiterate denials is as disingenuous as it is inept." He presents evidence that the state "is anti-religious, rather than simply anti-clerical and anti-church."

Some partisans will seize upon as material for debate Dr. Macfarland's statement that "the government of Mexico, with all of its weaknesses, is undoubtedly far more earnest in its desire for social reform than its critics admit. The Roman church in Mexico, while in some ways still far from the realization of Christian ideals, has done more for the people of Mexico than the state will allow." On the whole, by drastic elimination of lengthy and confusing non-essentials the author has succeeded in supplying the necessary background for the reader's approach to the subject.

ROBERT HAMMOND MURRAY

# Class Education

*The Social Ideas of American Educators.* By Merle Curti. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

"THE Social Ideas of American Educators" by Professor Curti of Smith College is a book of much wider significance than its modest title implies. In its first part, dealing with conditions prior to the Civil War, it is virtually a brief and very trenchant history of American education up to that time; in its second and longer part, though this is mainly concerned with particular educational leaders, these themselves are shown to have conformed in their ideas and practice, for the most part, to the pattern of American education established at the outset. This pattern, as it was in the beginning, is now, and apparently ever shall be so long as the present order of society endures, is summed up by the author as "class education."

In New England, and in the rest of the colonies as well, colleges and Latin schools were created under the tutelage of the clergy as the best possible defense of state, church, and accumulated wealth, it being the accepted view, in the words of one of the educators of the day, that "commerce and riches depend on virtue and liberty, which again depend on knowledge and religion." Common schools were introduced to give a rudimentary instruction to the children of the poor, but the higher branches were open only to the well-to-do and the socially privileged. When free public schools came eventually in the wake of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy, their chief proponents, Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, argued for them precisely on the ground that they would indoctrinate the masses with the duty of being contented in their lowlier lot, Barnard going so far as to insert a capitalist catechism such as this in his textbook, "Object Lessons":

Q. Suppose a capitalist in employing his capital makes large profits, would that harm the working man?

A. No. There would be more capital to pay wages.

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Q. Are you sorry, then, that capitalists should have great profits?

A. Glad.

In the second part of his volume Professor Curti follows the method of case histories, giving brilliant biographical analyses of, among others, Booker T. Washington, whose highest ambition for the Negroes was to enable them to attain the position of white wage-slaves; the right-wing Hegelian, William T. Harris, who showed that "true individualism could be realized only by subordinating the individual to existing institutions"; the Catholic, Bishop Spalding, the gist of whose high-minded teaching was to minimize the importance of economic considerations for the workers; the "romantic individualist," G. Stanley Hall, with his extension of *laissez faire* to every field; William James, who praised habit as the preserver of class distinctions: all advocates of class interest while considering themselves "disinterested seekers after knowledge."

Professor Curti does not forget such rebels as Francis Wayland Parker, John Dewey (his chapter on Dewey is strangely unappreciative), and George S. Counts, whose efforts to change the goal of education from private profit to that of social welfare are duly recounted. One is left with the impression, however, in spite of a rather empty reconciliatory chapter in conclusion, that education will on the whole remain an agent of the ruling class. ERNEST SUTHERLAND BATES

# Shorter Notices

*Asylum.* By William C. Seabrook. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

Mr. Seabrook got so tired of drinking too much that he had himself committed to a sanitorium which somewhat unwillingly accepts alcoholics. Being a journalist with a penchant for the macabre, he naturally used his adventure as copy and the result is a remarkably lively and entertaining account both of his own case and of life in a well-known, easily recognizable institution for the treatment of mental disorders. Mr. Seabrook thinks that he took to drink because he would not face his inability to write quite as well as he wanted to and he has great respect for the methods of this particular sanitarium; but the book is interesting chiefly for its vivid picture of existence on the Magic Mountain provided for those not quite capable of facing life in the everyday world. The institution in question does not take cases recognized as incurable and restraint is reduced to the necessary minimum. Its inmates are treated less as dangerous characters than as naughty children and the general effect is that of something halfway between a country club and a very modern kindergarten. Mr. Seabrook writes with enormous gusto and just the right touch of ghastly humor.

*Only the Fear.* By Lenore G. Marshall. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

The theme of this first novel demands a more rational, shrewder presentation than Lenore Marshall has been able to devise for it. Her heroine, Gabriele Kirk, is a sexually immature young matron, whose complacent acceptance of her husband's embraces in no way interfered with a mental, rhapsodical love affair with a childhood dream-lover whom she called Ivan. The discovery of her husband's one casual infidelity unsettles the precarious balance of her double-edged life. In an amour with a rakish young doctor, she tries to recreate the Ivan romance, and, as her emotions pour into this fantasy, reality grows dim and insanity threatens. By what can only be described as an act of God, she is saved, brought back alive into the everyday world, and the ending is happy. Such a situation as this clearly cries out for clinical treatment; Lenore Marshall douses it with romance. Where one might expect detachment, analysis, scientific knowledge, even, perhaps, wit, Mrs. Marshall's story pours forth in a geyser of unreasoning emotion. The effect is undignified, somewhat silly. Unable to evaluate her own characters, herself caught in the tangle of their problems, the author seems as juvenile as her deluded heroine. When one adds to this lack of discrimination, an atrocious ear for dialogue, which allows Connecticut intellectuals to mouth the platitudes of half-educated adolescents, one must conclude that delicate sensibilities cannot, by themselves, turn an interesting case-history into a good novel.

*Hedwig.* By Vance Randolph. The Vanguard Press. $2.

By the simple device of permitting his heroine to tell her own story, in her own illiterate and honest way, Mr. Randolph manages to bring her vividly before us. It is the story of a simple-minded nature at the mercy of brute trickery; almost every man she meets, from her loutish husband down, takes advantage of Hedwig whose capacity for suffering seems to be equaled only by her inability to defend herself against it. Of the few men who are moderately kind to her, one is a gentle imbecile who finally shoots himself; another leaves her to go back to his wife; while the third is obviously not of her world and unable to stay for any length of time within it: the very sensibilities which cause him to treat her with an unaccustomed amount of consideration are those which eventually send him away. To their final parting, on which the book ends, Hedwig agrees with the same show of dull, animal-like forbearance which is her natural response to every situation. Mr. Randolph has both honesty and intelligence; he knows his characters, and he presents them with a certain degree of truth. Unfortunately —for he has chosen a subject which demands the utmost in artistic treatment—he lacks any kind of artistic sense. It is possible, for a time, to believe in Hedwig; but her appeal is limited rather than universal, her sufferings never excite more than a casual sympathy—more often than not, they are downright repulsive. One closes the book with a sense of relief, which is on no account to be confused with the kind of relief that follows an effect of terror and pity.

*The Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, and Sarah Grimké, 1822-1844.* Edited by Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond. D. Appleton and Company. Two Volumes. $10.

The American Historical Association has published two volumes of the Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, his wife Angelina Grimké Weld, and Sarah Grimké, during the years 1822-1844. Theodore Weld was one of the less well-known leaders of the Abolition movement whom William Lloyd Garrison once described as "The lion-hearted, invincible Weld" (November 27, 1835). But his own modesty and dislike of leadership and responsibility kept him in the background. His wife and her sister were remarkable women, daughters of a Chief Justice of South Carolina, who were so horrified by slavery as they saw it at close range that they left South Carolina to join the ranks of the anti-slavery forces in the North. These letters are a substantial contribution to the history of the anti-slavery movement. It seems rather a pity, however, that one of the editors should have revived in the introduction the old controversy as to how much the Garrisonian Abolitionists and how much others accomplished. Here William Lloyd Garrison is written down, and the editors declare that Theodore Weld, the comparatively unknown, was "the greatest individual factor" in the triumph of the Abolition movement. Thus is history being rewritten! Just as in the past the laurels have been variously awarded to Wendell Phillips, James G. Burney, Gerrit Smith, John Quincy Adams, and various others.

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